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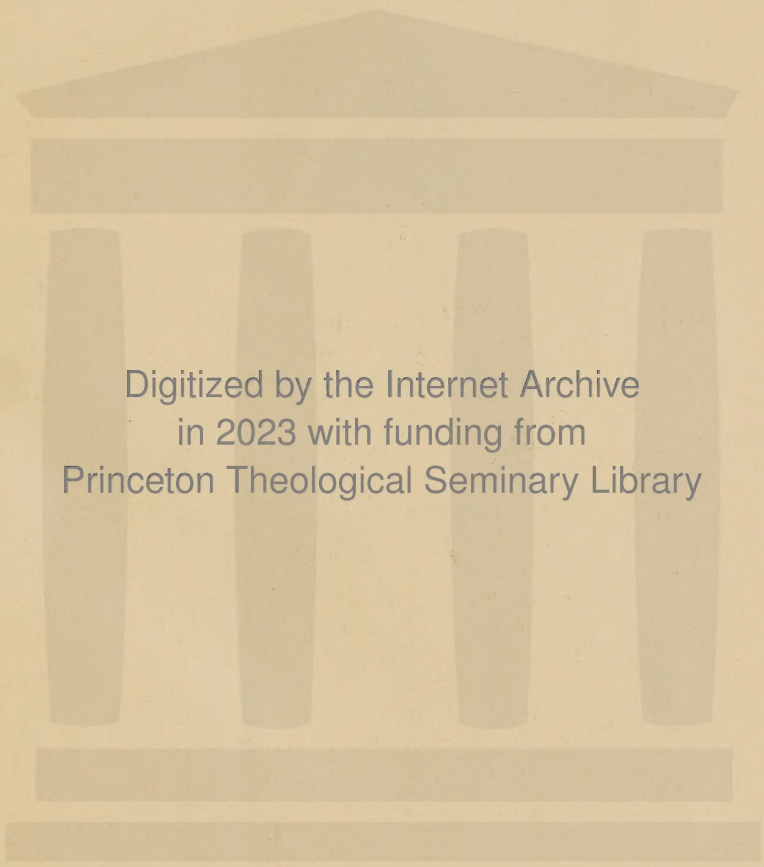
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Catholics

AND THE

American Revolution

BY

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

"The American people have had their false prophets who sought to create prejudice against the Catholic Church. Again and again, from sectarian pulpit and popular platform, the accusation has gone forth that the Church is the enemy of civil liberty, and that loyalty to her implies disloyalty to the institutions of the country.

"There is no conflict between the Catholic Church and America. I speak as an American citizen no less than as a Catholic Bishop. The Church is the mother of my faith, the guardian of my hopes for eternity; America is my country, the protectress of my liberty and of my fortunes on earth. I could not utter one syllable that would belie, however remotely, either the Church or the Republic, and when I assert, as I now solemnly do, that the principles of the Church are in thorough harmony with the interests of the Republic, I know in the depths of my soul that I speak the truth." [*Archbishop Ireland at Baltimore, November 10th, 1884.*]

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DEDICATION

TO

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL

THE CATHOLIC AMERICAN

No. 415
OF ONE THOUSAND
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465. Mother Aloysius.....Atchison, Kan.
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470. Ohio State Library.....Columbus, O.
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544. Rev. M. A. Sullivan, Hartford, Conn.
545. State Historical Soc., Madison, Wis.
546-47. Sacred Heart Review
548. Rev. James H. Courtney, Salem, Mass.
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550. Ignatius Horstman.....Philadelphia
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558. Rev. A. Rolf.....Pittsburg, Pa.
559. Rev. L. B. McCarthy..Boston, Mass.
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561. Rev. J. Talbot Smith....Dobbs Ferry
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570. Thomas Meighan.....Preston, Minn.
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593. Rev. T. J. Crowley, Waterbury, Conn.
594. Dr. F. J. Voss.....Philadelphia
595. Rev. C. Wienker.....Eleanor, Pa.
596. Rev. Jos. A. Flynn..Georgetown, Ky.
597. Dr. J. F. E. Colgan....Philadelphia
598. Rev. Martin I. J. Griffin
599. John T. McGraw....Grafton, W. Va.
600. John M. O'Brien.....Philadelphia
601. Ignatius J. Dohan.....Philadelphia
602. Edward P. Gallagher....Philadelphia
603. Georgetown University
604. Columbian Lit. Soc., Collegeville, Ind.
605. Rev. T. E. Murphy, S.J., Worcester, Mass.
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610. Frank M. Kieron....St. Paul, Minn.
611. John Andrews.....Cleveland, Ohio
612. Chas. R. Krimm....Williamsport, Pa.
613. Rev. Wm. A. McLoughlin.....Phila.
614. Rt. Rev. J. J. Fox.....Green Bay

THE STORY

OF

COMMODORE JOHN BARRY

"Father of the American Navy"

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CHAPTER I.

HIS NAVAL RENOWN—HIS CAREER IN THE COLONIAL MERCANTILE MARINE SERVICE—APPOINTED TO THE "LEXINGTON" BY THE CONTINENTAL MARINE COMMITTEE—HIS FIRST CRUISE.

The American Navy by its achievements has won enduring fame and imperishable honor. The careers of many of its heroes have been narrated fully, and oft in fulsome terms. All Americans unite in these tributes of praise where justly due.

JOHN BARRY has, aptly and justly, been called "THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY." His early, constant and worthy services in defence of our country; his training many of those who became the foremost and most distinguished sons of the sea in our early naval annals makes the title one fitly bestowed.

The Congress of his country having directed the erection in the Capital City of the Nation of a monument commemorative of the man and his deeds, this is a fitting time to present a brief record of his career and of his deeds during the Revolutionary War, which won the Independence of our Country, and also in the War with France, which maintained the integrity of the new Nation and the protection of its commerce. In both wars he bore a heroic part. At all times his services were useful and brilliant.

"Captain John Barry may justly be considered the Father of our Navy," wrote Mr. Dennie in *The Portfolio,* July 1813, in giving the first biographical sketch of this distinguished naval officer. "The utility of whose services and the splendor of whose exploits entitle him to the foremost rank among our naval heroes."

Allen's *Biographical Dictionary,* published in 1809, declared he "was a patriot of integrity and unquestioned bravery."

Frost's *Naval Biography* states: "Few commanders were employed in a greater variety of services or met the enemy under greater disadvantages," and yet he did not fail to acquit himself of his duty in a manner becoming a skillful seaman and a brave warrior.

"His public services were not limited to any customary rule of professional duty, but without regard to labor, danger or excuses,

THE BARONY OF FORTH

his devotion to his Country kept him constantly engaged in acts of public utility. The regard and admiration of General Washington, which he possessed in an eminent degree, were among the most eminent fruits of his patriotic career."

Judson's *Sages and Heroes of the Revolution* says: "Barry was noble in spirit, humane in discipline, discreet and fearless in

battle, urbane in his manners, a splendid officer, a good citizen, a devoted Christian and a true Patriot."

Many other quotations might be cited to show the high esteem in which Commodore John Barry was held as well also the importance of his services to our Country.

A brief narration of his career will set forth the character and worth of these services as well as afford proof of the valor and fidelity of this most successful naval officer.

John Barry was born in 1745 in the townland of Ballysampson. He lived his boyhood in the townland of Roostoonstown, both in

BALLYSAMPSON

the parish of Tacumshin, Barony of Forth, Province of Leinster in Ireland. The parish covers three thousand acres. It is situated between two townland-locked gulfs with very narrow openings—Lake Tacumshin and Lady's Island Lake. Possibly these lakes gave young Barry the inspiration for the sea, and upon both he in youth, we may be sure, oft pulled the oar.

When and under what circumstances young Barry left his birthplace and departed from Ireland are not known. The best traditionary evidence justifies us in believing that leaving Ireland, while yet young, he went to Spanishtown in the Island of Jamaica and from there, when about fifteen years of age, came to Philadelphia, where he found employment in the commercial fleets of

Samuel Meredith and of Willing & Morris, leaders in the mercantile life of the city.

TACUMSHIN LOUGH

Being but a boy, records do not attest his presence or position. But however lowly, we are sure that merit hovered over every action and proved the worth of the young navigator of the seas so

LADY'S ISLAND LOUGH

fully that on attaining his twenty-first year he was at once entrusted with the sole command of a vessel—the schooner "Barbadoes," sixty tons, which cleared from Philadelphia on October 2, 1766.

The schooner he commanded was registered at the Custom House on September 29, 1766. It was built at Liverpool, in the Province of Nova Scotia and was owned by Edward Denny, of Philadelphia. John Barry was registered as its Captain.

In this schooner, small in measurement and in tonnage by the standard of our times and yet not surpassed in either by many vessels in the colonial marine trade, John Barry, now a man in years and capabilities, continued until early in 1771 to make voyages to and from Bridgetown, the principal port of Barbadoes.

BRIDGETOWN

In May, 1771, he became Captain of the brig "Patty and Polly," sailing from St. Croix to Philadelphia. In August of that year we find him Captain of the schooner "Industry," of forty-five tons, plying to and from Virginia, making trips to New York, voyages to Nevis and to and from Halifax, Nova Scotia until, on October 9, 1772, he became Commander of the "Peggy" sailing to and from St. Eustatia and Montserrat until, on December 19, 1774, a register for the ship the "Black Prince" was issued to John Barry as Master. It was owned by John Nixon, whose grandfather, Richard, a Catholic, of Barry's own county, Wexford, arrived in Philadelphia in 1686. John Nixon read the Declaration of Independence on July 8, 1776. On December 21st Barry

sailed to Bristol, where he arrived at the end of January, 1775. Later he proceeded to London, where he arrived June 7th, from whence he returned to Philadelphia, where he arrived October 13th, the very day Congress had resolved to fit out two armed cruisers, one of fourteen guns and one of ten guns, the first act founding a Continental naval force for the United Colonies.

The Marine Committee, under the authority of this Resolve of the Continental Congress, purchased two vessels and named one the "Lexington," the other the "Reprisal."

To the "Lexington" John Barry was commissioned Captain on December 7, 1775. Captain Wickes was the same day named Commander of the "Reprisal."

Barry's vessel the "Black Prince," the finest vessel engaged in the Colonial commerce, was purchased by the Marine Committee, renamed the "Alfred," after Alfred the Great, the founder of the English Navy. To the "Alfred" John Paul Jones was appointed Lieutenant under Captain Salstonstall, on the same day Barry and Wickes were appointed Captains.

The "Lexington" and the "Reprisal" were separate and independent commands under direct orders of the Marine Committee and not subject to, nor were they part of, the fleet under Commodore Hopkins. Captain John Barry was thus the first Commander appointed under the direct authority of the Continental Congress. He was appointed to the first Continental armed cruiser —the "Lexington"—named after the first battle place of the Revolution. It was the first vessel fitted out under Continental authority by the Marine Committee and "in the nature of things was more readily equipped" than the "Alfred," says Cooper's *History of the Navy*. This was especially so as Willing & Morris, Captain Barry's late employers, alone had a stock of "round shot for four pounders, under their store in Penn Street and in their yard." These were readily available to Captain Barry of the "Lexington."

When Barry's cruiser was ready for sea the severity of the weather in blocking the Delaware with ice debarred its passage to the Bay and out into the Ocean. In the meanwhile Barry was busily employed on shore duty and in assisting in preparing the fleet of Commodore Hopkins for its departure on February 17, 1776, on its expedition to the Southward. This fleet was intended for the protection of American vessels off the coast of Virginia, but it proceeded to the Bahama Islands. On St. Patrick's Day, 1776, Hop-

kins sailed from New Providence bringing the Governor and others as hostages as well as securing military stores and ammunition. Washington on the same day was entering the City of Boston on its forced evacuation by the British.

Meanwhile Captain John Barry was busy in constant service on the Delaware River and on shore, promoting the progress of naval affairs conducive to the formation of a navy.

It was not, however, until March 23d that Congress ordered Letters of Marque to be issued and authorized public and private cruisers to capture British vessels or to seize or destroy supplies for the British naval forces.

Captain Barry, in the "Lexington," at once proceeded down the Delaware. On March 29, 1776, was off Cape May, New Jersey. On Sunday, the 31st, the "Lexington" went out to sea—his first entry upon the watery domain bearing the flag of defiance—the Union or Continental flag hoisted at Cambridge on January 1, 1776, by General Washington, which he had adopted so that "our vessels may know one another," and so "distinguish our friends from our foes," as he had written Captain Barry's friend and fellow-Catholic of Philadelphia, Colonel Stephen Moylan, the Muster Master General of his army.

When Captain Barry proceeded to sea, the "Roebuck," British man-of-war, "one of His Majesty's pirates" and her tender, the "Edward," "put to sea" also after the "Lexington," but Barry was too swift and got so far away that the "Roebuck" returned the same evening to the Bay.

Barry's historical and patriotic career had begun.

John Brown

ADMIRALTY SEAL AND SIGNATURE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD

CHAPTER II.

CAPTURES THE "EDWARD"—HIS PRISONER RICHARD DALE—IMPORTANCE OF THE PRIZE—BARRY UNKNOWN TO OR IGNORED BY CAPTAIN HOBSON.

The "Lexington" cruised off the coast of Virginia a week without meeting with the enemy. Barry had gone to sea on Sunday. The Sunday following, April 7, 1776, while off the "Capes of Virginia" he "fell in with the sloop 'Edward' belonging to the 'Liverpool' frigate" and "shattered her in a terrible manner," as he reported to the Marine Committee, after an engagement of "near two glasses." The "Lexington" lost two men killed and two wounded. The "Edward" had "several of her crew killed and wounded." She carried "eight guns and a number of swivels" and was commanded by Lieutenant Richard Boger of the "Liverpool." Barry brought the "shattered" captive to Philadelphia with the crew of twenty-five prisoners taken.

Among the number was Richard Dale, of Virginia, who had been Lieutenant of a light cruiser in the service of Virginia, which had been captured by the "Edward." Dale was "induced to adopt the Royal cause" and so took service on the "Edward" and so was taken prisoner.

Captain Barry induced young Dale to return to American allegiance and accept service under him on the "Lexington" as Midshipman. Dale in October, when the "Lexington" was assigned to Captain Johnston, became Master's Mate. He continued in the service of the United Colonies and rose to be a Commodore in the Navy under the present Constitution. He ever retained the friendship of Captain Barry, who, by his will, bequeathed to his "good friend, Captain Richard Dale, his gold-hilted sword as a token of his esteem."

This sword had been presented to John Paul Jones by King Louis XVI after the memorable battle between the "Bonne Homme Richard" commanded by Jones and the "Serapis," as the expedition commanded by Jones was under French auspices and direction. The sword "was sent by Jones' heirs to Robert Morris," the financier of the Revolution, "who presented it to Commodore John Barry, the senior officer of the present American Navy, who will never disgrace it," Morris wrote, March 18, 1795, to Thomas Pinck-

ney, the American Minister to Great Britain. Barry by his will bequeathed it to "my good friend Captain Richard Dale," with whose descendants it yet remains. It is claimed by the Morris family that the gift to Barry was "in trust to descend to the senior officer of the Navy." There is no proof of the trust nor is there any that Jones' heirs gave the sword of great money value to Morris. Morris had it. He gave it to Barry who bequeathed it to Dale who, two months before Barry made his will, had resigned from the Navy. There could have been no "trust" for Barry to "disregard." But it is singular that it is now possessed by those whose ancestor had, by Barry, been induced to return to American allegiance after having entered the service of the enemy.

The "Edward," taken by Barry, was the first armed vessel taken under the authority of the Continental Marine Committee and brought to Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, and delivered to its Marine Committee. Previous captures off the New England coast by Manly and others, had been those of unarmed supply vessels to Quebec or Boston under authority of General Washington. The capture was most important. When the project had, in August, 1775, been presented to Congress by the delegates from Rhode Island, by direction of its Assembly, to fit out armed cruisers, many of the patriots thought it of doubtful wisdom to do so against the powerful British Navy. Samuel Chase, of Maryland, declared "it is the maddest idea in the world."

So Barry's capture was a demonstration of the ability of the Colonies to contest the sea with Great Britain and to do it so effectively that "we captured from the British over eight hundred vessels and more than twelve thousand seamen, and of these more than one hundred were war vessels of the Royal Navy, carrying more than two thousand, five hundred guns, while the American losses were scarcely more than one-sixth those of the British," as Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson declared in an address on the Navy on Flag Day, 1901, at the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition. Yet he, in looking "over the range of our Naval history, saw a long line of majestic figures whose very names are an inspiration," did not, in giving the names of twenty-one of these "majestic figures," name Captain John Barry, the very "Father of the Navy." He was not mentioned as among those which "History with her bright and luminous pencil inscribed upon the glorious scroll." Captain Hobson, the heroic, is now a member of Congress from

Alabama and ought to make reparation for his ignorance or conscious ignoring of the foremost naval commander of the very Navy he proved himself to be a worthy representative of. He may become unknown or be ignored if known.

Captain Barry had command of the first Continental cruiser, the "Lexington," and the last frigate, the "Alliance"—the largest and finest vessel in the Revolutionary Navy—had made the first capture under Continental authority and fought the last battle of the Revolution, and commanded the whole of the Navy at the close of the war—had been the earliest, the constant and the latest fighter and the first Captain and ranking officer of the present Navy on its establishment in 1794. Yet he was entirely unknown to Captain Hobson. Or was he purposely ignored?

The capture of the "Edward" was considered of considerable import in patriot circles: "We begin to make some little figure here in the navy way," wrote John Adams, the day after the arrival of Barry and his prize. The Marine Committee also wrote to Commodore Hopkins, who had arrived at New London, Connecticut, the same day Barry had arrived at Philadelphia with his prize, informing him of the capture and saying the loss to the British of the twenty-five men was one "they cannot easily provide against—the want of men."

The demonstration of satisfaction at Philadelphia because of Barry's success gave heart to the patriots in an endeavor to have an increase in the naval force. By the alertness of armed cruisers, protection would be given to the supplies coming to the Americans and at the same time captures could be made of supplies going to the British.

On May 1, 1776, the "Edward," condemned by the Court of Admiralty as a prize to the "Lexington'" was, with all her ammunition, furniture, tackle and apparel, sold at public auction and the proceeds divided between the Government and Captain Barry and his crew.

CHAPTER III.

BARRY APPOINTED TO COMMAND DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS IN DELAWARE BAY AND RIVER—CAPTURES BRITISH SUPPLIES AND PROTECTS AMERICAN—SAVES THE CARGO OF THE "NANCY" AND EXPLODES HER WHEN THE BRITISH BOARD HER—CAPTURES THE "LADY SUSAN" AND THE "BETSY"—APPOINTED TO THE "EFFINGHAM."

The "Lexington" was not in a condition to then proceed on another expedition, as she needed fitting up. Yet Captain Barry was not permitted to be idle. On May 8th, Robert Morris, for the Marine Committee of Congress, directed him to go down the Delaware River in the sloop "Hornet," commanded by Captain Hallock, and to take the officers and men of the "Lexington" to supply the Provincial armed ship, commanded by Captain Read, the Floating Battery and the "Reprisal," under Captain Wickes, with men sufficient to have these vessels "fit for immediate action," and to give the "utmost exertions" of himself, officers and men in defending the pass at Fort Island so as to prevent the British coming to Philadelphia; and also to take, sink or destroy such as attempted to do so as well as pursue those he thought it advisable to follow. This made Captain Barry the Commodore or ranking officer in the naval operations in Delaware Bay. The next day Captain Barry reported to Mr. Morris, urging the fitting out of the "Lexington" so "she might be of service. The more there is the better," said the Captain, though adding, "We shall keep them in play."

So the "Lexington" was fitted out and sent down the Bay to Barry where the "Roebuck" and "Liverpool," British frigates, were "in and about." Barry joined the rest of the fleet at Cape May. The "Liverpool" "was scared away" when the Americans went "in quest of the pirates."

At this time the thirteen vessels ordered in December to be built for the Marine Committee were being completed at Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore. Captain Barry was appointed to the command of one being built at Philadelphia—the "Effingham" being assigned him in October.

All the while, however, Barry was in command of the "Lexington" in the Delaware Bay and off the Capes, giving protection to the Continental supply vessels coming to Philadelphia, which had been

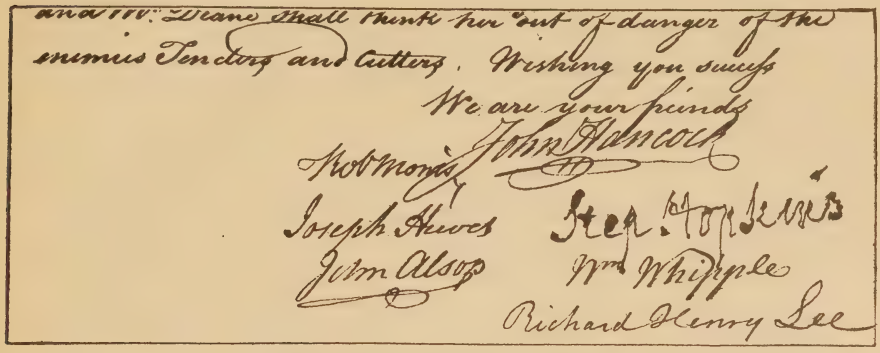
sent out for necessaries. One arrived at Philadelphia with 7,400 pounds of powder as well as a number of firearms. Barry also sent up to Philadelphia the war stores he captured. On June 12, 1776, the Secret Committee of Congress directed that Colonel Megraw's Battalion be given the 191 firearms "sent up by Captain Barry." She narrowly escaped capture by the "Liverpool," but two of the Continental vessels protected her and a French schooner. Other French vessels from the West Indies, bringing molasses, coffee, linen and other supplies were also saved from capture by Captain Barry and the other Continental and Provincial commanders under his authority. On June 10th the "Kingfisher," British man-of-war, captured a brigantine from Wilmington, but "before the pirate boarded her our brave Captain Barry had been on board of her and taken out some powder and arms," was the report Henry Fisher, of Lewistown, sent the Committee of Safety by whaleboat to New Castle and thence by land because the Tories of the County had cut off all horse express communication.

The tenders of the "Roebuck," the "Liverpool" and the "Kingfisher" attempted to seize the cattle and stock which the Tories had stored for the British at Indian River, "but were prevented by Barry's brig," as they called her, thus indicating that the alertness and success of the "brave Captain Barry" had become conspicuously known to the Tories of lower Delaware, a nest of Loyalists.

The brig "Nancy" bringing supplies from St. Croix and St. Thomas for Congress account and having 386 barrels of gunpowder, 50 firelocks, 101 hogsheads of rum, 62 of sugar and bales of dry goods, on June 29, 1776, while making for Cape May, was pursued by six British men-of-war but, getting assistance from Captain Barry's "Lexington," she was run ashore and 268 barrels of the powder and most of the other stores saved. Powder was, by Barry's order, placed in the cabin and in the mainsail, in the folds of which fire was put. The British boarded the brig. An explosion soon took place and "blew the pirates into the air." It "was supposed forty or fifty were destroyed by the explosion."

On July 2, 1776, the day the Resolution declared the Colonies free and independent, John Hancock, President of the Congress so declaring, notified Captain Barry that as "the frigate you are to command is not yet launched, her guns and anchors not yet ready," it was but "a piece of justice due to your merit to allow you to make a cruise in the "Lexington" for one or two months, in hopes

that fortune may favor your industry and reward it with some good prizes. On this cruise Barry met that "fortune" which his industry merited. He captured several prizes of which record have been discovered.



SIGNATURES TO BARRY'S ORDERS

On August 2d the "Lady Susan," "an armed vessel, was taken by Captain Barry at sea," reported Cæsar Rodney to his brother at Dover the next day. This was "a privateer of eight four-pound carriage guns commanded by another of those famous Goodriches of Virginia." She was loaded with naval stores from Bermuda. After an "obstinate engagement" of an hour and a half "she struck." Nearly all of her crew of twenty-five after their capture took service under Barry.

The "Betsy," a sloop of fifty tons, commanded by Samuel Kerr, was also at this time captured by the "Lexington" under Barry. Both prizes were condemned to Captain Barry on September 26th by the Court of Admiralty, but an appeal in the case of the "Betsy" was taken to Congress.

The newly built "Effingham" being ready, Captain Barry surrendered, on October 18, 1776, the "Lexington" to Captain Henry Johnston and took command of the "Effingham," named in honor of Lord Effingham, who had resigned his commission in the British Army rather than take arms against the Colonies, because of his "strict adherence to those principles of the Revolution of 1688," which he declared the Colonies were contending for and for so doing the merchants of Dublin, on July 17, 1775, approved of his conduct in "honestly and spiritedly resigning," and for his "noble efforts in support of American Liberty."

CHAPTER IV.

BARRY APPOINTED TO THE "EFFINGHAM"—THE QUESTION OF RANK—BARRY ENGAGES IN THE TRENTON CAMPAIGN—AN AIDE TO WASHINGTON AND TO CADWALLADER—COMMANDER OF THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA—STRIKE OF THE NAVY LIEUTENANTS—OPERATIONS OF BARRY ON THE DELAWARE.

A reorganization of the Navy of the United Colonies took place on October 10, 1776, when assignments were made of the several armed vessels then belonging to the "United States," as that was the title Congress had, on September 9th, ordered to be used in all public documents. The order in which these assignments were made was generally regarded as fixing the rank of each Captain. So it occasioned agitation and discussion. It was not, however, officially stated that such was the case. Later it was declared not to be so by Committee of Congress.

Captain John Barry was assigned to No. 7 on the list. Those preceding him were: (1) James Nicholson, to the "Virginia," 28 guns; (2) John Manly, to the "Hancock," 32 guns; (3) Hector McNeil, to the "Boston," 24 guns; (4) Dudley Salstonstall, to the "Trumbull," 28 guns; (5) Nicholas Biddle, to the "Randolph," 32 guns; (6) Thomas Thompson, to the "Raleigh," 32 guns; (7) John Barry, to the "Effingham," 28 guns. John Paul Jones was given No. 18. The Marine Committee in making up the list could hardly, in view of the number of guns of the several vessels and the selection of Captains who had not as yet served in the Navy, have intended the position assigned as fixing the official rank of the several officers. James Nicholson, the first named and to a 28-gun ship, had not heretofore been noted for any special services justifying his appointment as the ranking officer of the Navy, though giving him a vessel inferior in armament to others lower in position. Captain John Manly, No. 2, was "uneasy and threatened to resign." He had in New England waters done early and good services. Captain Thompson's friends declared he ought to have been placed higher. Yet Manly and Thompson were given 32-gun ships, while Captain Nicholson, No. 1, was given a 28 and Captain Barry, No. 7, was also given a 28. Captain John Paul Jones, No. 18, ever contested the assignment to that position, declaring that "rank opens

the door to glory." As late as 1781 he made contest before Committee of Congress. It reported that though there was, "on October 10, 1776, an arrangement of Captains, the Committee cannot fully ascertain the rule by which that arrangement was made, as the relative rank was not conformable to the times of appointment or dates of commission and seems repugnant to a resolution of December 22, 1775."

Captain Barry appears not to have made any objection to his position on the list. He was ready and eager for service and, seemingly, not concerned as to rank or position. He had been given a vessel equal to Captain Nicholson, No. 1. Those to whom stronger armament had been given had not been early or foremost in service or activity. Some of them did not, later, justify any outranking, if that were the case. Captain Barry was early in the struggle, foremost during its continuance and latest in service.

Jones declared that some gentlemen in the first days of the Navy did not join the Navy as "they did not choose to be hanged, as the hazard was very great." But Captain John Barry did not hesitate. He came quickly from London to engage in the conflict, and from the very first day of his return to America was active in service and on duty. Still rank was not necessary to "open the door to glory," for No. 7 became the chief officer of the Navy and No. 18 achieved imperishable fame and popular renown. The pay of the Captains was sixty dollars a month. The uniform was: Blue cloth with red lapels, slash cuff, stand-up collar, flat yellow buttons, blue breeches, red waistcoat with yellow lace.

Interested in the Navy, Captain Barry was also concerned in affairs on land. So when on November 25, 1776, a meeting was held at the Indian Queen Hotel, Philadelphia, to consider accusations against those "suspected as Tories and unfriendly to the cause of America," Captain Barry was there. We may be sure he was earnest and active in any measures to restrict the operations of those inimicable to Liberty or engaged in efforts detrimental to the Patriots' endeavors.

Captain Barry, on November 30, 1776, united with Captains Biddle, Read, Alexander and John Nicholson in a memorial to Congress. It was referred to the Marine Committee, who were directed to pursue such measures as they might think proper. What the memorial related to has not been discovered after long continued endeavor to ascertain. It is not among the papers of the Continental

Congress nor mentioned in the records of the Marine Committee, which have been preserved at the Library of Congress.

At this time affairs were serious with General Washington. The battle of Long Island, in August, had been disastrous. Forts Lee and Washington, the bulwarks of the Hudson, had been lost and the sad and gloomy, but marvelously strategic, retreat across New Jersey was being conducted by Washington, pursued by Lord Cornwallis.

Washington " was at the end of the tether." " In ten days this army will have ceased to exist," was his almost despairing cry to Congress, calling for aid to strengthen his disappearing and dispirited army. Yet on the upper Delaware, amid all the encircling gloom, God's precious Providence and love was at no time during the Revolution more strikingly manifested. All seemed lost this bleak December, 1776. The hour of defeat, dismay and destruction seemed about to strike. The timid, the faint-hearted, the treacherous were fast accepting British allegiance. Even heretofore stalwart hearts wavered in the cause of Liberty. The newly proclaimed Independence of hot July, the threat and defiance of the Colonies to England's tyranny, was now in the chill December, like the earth, about to be sheathed in the coldness of death.

The alarm came to Philadelphia. Shops were shut, schools closed and the inhabitants engaged solely in providing for the defense of the City, now the aim of the enemy. But out of all this gloom and alarm came the victory at Trenton.

Captain John Barry organized a company of volunteers and went to Washington's assistance. In coöperation with the marines under Captain William Brown, he lent efficient service in transporting Washington's army across the Delaware prior to the Battle of Trenton. Captain Barry acted as an aide to General Cadwallader, and on one occasion, of which there is record, as an aide to Washington in the safe conduct to Philadelphia of the baggage of the captured Hessians and also of the surgeons and physicians to Princeton.

After the Trenton campaign and its consequent successful results, Captain Barry returned to Philadelphia and engaged in naval preparations for the defense of the city. He was the Senior Commander of the Navy in the Port of Philadelphia.

In July, 1777, twelve of the lieutenants of the fleet under Barry struck for an increase of pay and allowances. They notified

Captain Barry they would not act on board any vessel until their grievances were redressed. Barry informed the Marine Committee. It reported the affair to Congress, saying that such a combination of officers was of the "most dangerous tendency." Whereupon the Congress dismissed all of the lieutenants and declared their commissions "void and of no effect." The offenders were declared incapable of holding any commission under the United States and recommending the several States not to employ any in offices civil or military. This brought the lieutenants to "acknowledge in the most explicit manner that the offense for which they were dismissed is highly reprehensible and could not be justified under any circumstances or any pretence whatever, and that they were exceedingly sorry for the rashness which betrayed them into such behavior." Then the strikers were "restored to former rank and command."

MISS ELIZABETH ADAMS BARNES
Great-Great-Grandniece of Commodore Barry; who christened "The Barry" Boat March 22, 1902

CHAPTER V.

THE BRITISH CAPTURE PHILADELPHIA—ACTIVITY OF BARRY—COMMANDER OF NAVY AT PORT OF PHILADELPHIA—BATTLE AT RED BANK—ORDERED BY WASHINGTON AND NAVY BOARD TO SINK THE VESSELS ON THE UPPER DELAWARE—PROTESTS—DECLARED HE KNEW MORE ABOUT A SHIP THAN WASHINGTON AND THE BOARD—CHARGED WITH DISRESPECT—HIS DEFENSE TO CONGRESS—HIS BRILLIANT OPERATIONS ON THE DELAWARE.

The British, in 1776 having failed to reach Philadelphia by the northward way through New Jersey, planned the 1777 campaigns to end with the capture from the southward by the Chesapeake of the capital of "the rebels." This was in accordance with the plan, as we now know, of General Charles Lee, second in command to Washington, while he was a prisoner in New York. He thus proved himself a traitor more despicable even than Arnold. His infamy did not become known until of late years. Moving northward from the head of the Chesapeake Bay, the British encountered Washington at Brandywine and, defeating him, secured an entrance to Philadelphia when it pleased General Howe to enter, which he did on September 26th, amid the welcoming acclaim of the people who remained. The Patriots had generally left the city.

On the 23d the Navy Board ordered all vessels south of Market Street to move down the river and all north to go up the Delaware to escape falling into the hands of the British. Barry's "Effingham" went down the river.

Barry, as the Senior Commander of the Navy at the Port of Philadelphia, had charge of the "row gallies, batteries" and other vessels protecting and maintaining the *chevaux de frize* off Billingsport by sinking obstructions to prevent the passage to the city of any British vessels and thus effectually stopping the channel.

The British erected a battery near the mouth of the Schuylkill upon which Barry's galleys fired at times but seemingly with but little effect, though "playing their part most nobly and acting like men and freemen convincing the world their liberty was merited," to use the words of Thomas McKean to General Rodney.

When, on October 22, 1777, Count Donop attacked the Americans in Fort Mercer at Red Bank, the British fleet coöperated with

the land forces, while the Continental vessels under Barry and the Pennsylvania fleet under Hazlewood drove them back, preventing their passage up the river. The British frigate the "Augusta" and the "Merlin" were driven ashore. The "Merlin" was set on fire by its crew. The powder on the "Augusta" exploded and that vessel was blown up. Portions of its remains are in the water off Red Bank to this day.

Fort Mifflin, held by the Americans, was attacked on November 16, 1777. Unable to have the assistance of the Continental or the State Navy, the fort was abandoned. A council of the commanders of the fleet was held, when it was decided that an endeavor should be made at night to take all the vessels up the river, as the British fleet held control of the lower Delaware. To do this it was necessary to pass Philadelphia, then in possession of the British. This was successfully accomplished by the State fleet early in the morning of November 16th. They were "unperceived," says the British account, until the passage had been successfully made. The enemy were more alert the following night when the Continental vessels under Barry endeavored to make the passage. Three or four succeeded. Others had to be burned to prevent capture. The success of this elusive passage up the river emboldened, as we shall see later, Captain Barry, a few months afterwards, to make another successful passage down the river, passing, unmolested, the British vessels off Philadelphia and getting down into the Bay to oppose the British hovering thereabouts.

Barry's operations on the Delaware, while the British occupied Philadelphia, were as brilliant and as audacious in bravery as any services performed during his career. Doubtless from his activity, good judgment and bravery at this period may have proceeded all the successes of his subsequent career. The Continental authorities were made aware at once of the abilities of the gallant man whom they had so early in the struggle for Independence placed in command.

During the attack on Fort Mifflin by the British, Lieutenant Ford, of Barry's "Effingham," and Lieutenant Lyons, of the "Dickinson," deserted. After the British had evacuated Philadelphia these deserters were captured and on September 2, 1778, shot. The execution took place on a guard-boat off Market Street.

After the Continental and State fleets had arrived in the upper Delaware near Bordentown, Washington, in November, 1777, noti-

fied the Continental Navy Board there was danger of a British force being sent to destroy the vessels. So he directed they should be sunk. Barry was, by the Board, on November 2d, directed to move the "Effingham" "a little below White Hill" (now Fieldsboro, N. J.) "where she may lie on a soft bottom. You are to sink her there without delay by sunset this evening." But Barry was loath to sink the vessel he had been appointed to command and fight. Later in the month Francis Hopkinson, of the Navy Board, delivered to Captain Barry, as Senior Officer, "orders, in writing," to sink or burn the ships. Captains Barry and Read had taken every measure to defend the vessels which Barry declared he believed would be effectual in repelling any force the enemy would send to destroy them.

Barry and Read protested to the Board against the sinking, saying that if Washington knew the security of the ships he would not order the sinking. Barry offered to go and inform him, but Hopkinson declared Washington had been informed and his order would be carried out. He told Barry that the order should be obeyed; that he would take Washington's opinion in preference to Barry's.

"I told him," related Barry in his defense, when summoned before Congress sitting at York, for disrespect to the Navy Board, "that nevertheless I knew more about a ship than General Washington and the Navy Board together. That I was commissioned by Congress to command the 'Effingham' and, therefore, expected to be consulted before she was destroyed."

"You shall obey our orders," was the quick and somewhat heated reply. Whereupon Barry left him "of course in high dudgeon," said Barry. "I immediately repaired to my ship, got all clear—and the orders were punctually obeyed"—while Hopkinson himself was on board giving orders which did not permit the vessel to keel and so was "very near upsetting." When Barry reported the condition of the ship to the Navy Board, he was told "it was a misfortune and we must do the best to remedy it," to which Barry replied that nothing would be wanting on his part.

Two attempts to raise the "Effingham" failed for want of men and material, whereupon Mr. Hopkinson said he would raise her himself—"an insult I overlooked, having the getting up of the ship much at heart," Barry told Congress. So he got everything ready and sent for as many of the invalid soldiers as could be had,

and with the seamen began to heave. And he too "worked with as much ardor as possible."

"Captain Barry, doth she rise," called Hopkinson.

"No, sir! How can she rise when you keep the people back," replied Barry. This was an allusion to Hopkinson's order that only invalids, well attired, should be sent to assist the seamen.

"Puh! You are always grumbling," retorted Hopkinson.

"What do you say?" quickly cried Barry.

"Go along and mind your own business, you scoundrel," roared Hopkinson.

"It is a lie," said Barry.

"What! Do you tell me I lie?" said Hopkinson.

"It was a lie in them that said so," was Barry's rejoinder.

Hopkinson replied that he would bring Barry to an account for this.

"My answer was," Barry told Congress, "Damn you! I don't value you more than my duty requires."

"Sir! You never minded your duty," retorted Hopkinson.

"I immediately told him he was a liar and that the Continental Congress knew I had minded my duty, and added that had he minded his duty as well the ship would not be in its present condition."

The Navy Board, on December 11, 1777, complained to Congress of the "disrespect and ill treatment which Hopkinson had received from John Barry, commander of the frigate "Effingham."

Barry was summoned to York, Pa., where Congress was in session. On January 10th he attended and made defense, concluding by saying that he considered himself "unworthy the commission of Congress if he tamely put up with treatment other than that due to all Captains of the Navy as gentlemen."

On February 27th the Marine Committee reported to Congress that "Captain Barry ought, within twenty days, make full acknowledgment to the Navy Board of having treated Mr. Hopkinson with indecency and disrespect." Nothing further appears on record, so it is presumed Captain Barry complied and the case closed. At this time Barry was, by order of the same Committee, actively at work destroying British supplies in the lower Delaware from Mantua Creek to Port Penn and Bombay Hook.

Congress was equally divided on a resolution that Captain Barry be not, in consequence of his conduct towards Hopkinson,

" employed on the expedition assigned to his conduct by the Marine Committee with the approbation of Congress until the further order of Congress." Had he not been employed, Washington might not, later, have been cheered by the results which Captain Barry achieved in " the expedition" against the British supply vessels coming up the Delaware.

Washington, amid the desolation of Valley Forge, had his heart torn by the suffering of his Patriot soldiers who bore all, suffered all, hoped all, determined to brave all that their country should be free. From amid that distress Washington sent his thanks for " the good things" Barry sent to the camp.

While the controversy with Hopkinson was being considered and Barry was in the upper Delaware, he projected the plan to attempt the destruction of some of the enemy's vessels lying off Philadelphia by floating down machines in form of ships' buoys filled with powder. These, as they floated past the city, were fired at by the British batteries. This event is known in history as " The Battle of the Kegs."

Singularly, too, Francis Hopkinson, Barry's accuser of want of respect for him made the event memorable by a humorous ditty reflecting upon " British valor displayed."

" The cannons roar from shore to shore,
The small arms make a rattle;
Since war's began, I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle."

The Loyalists, however, considered the battle as " a most astonishing instance of the activity, bravery and military skill of the Royal Navy of Great Britain. Officers and men exhibited the most unparalleled skill and bravery on the occasion, while the citizens stood as solemn witness of their prowess."

This occurred on Monday, January 5, 1778, a day ever distinguished in history for the memorable " Battle of the Kegs."

CHAPTER VI.

BARRY ATTACKS THE BRITISH SUPPLY SHIPS BELOW PHILADELPHIA—CAPTURES THREE—SENDS SUPPLIES TO WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE—THANKS OF WASHINGTON—WAS BARRY OFFERED A BRITISH COMMAND?

The expedition assigned to Captain Barry which he came near being deprived of by Congress was a cruise in the Delaware River. The Marine Committee, not being directed not to employ Barry, on January 29, 1778, directed him to fit out the pinnace and barges belonging to the frigates for "a cruise in said river under your command." He was empowered to "receive stores and employ such Continental Navy officers and call the number of men necessary for officering, manning, victualing and equipping the boats." He was directed to have frequent occasion to land on each side of the Delaware and to restrain his men from plundering or insulting the inhabitants. The Navy Board was directed to supply "everything necessary for your little fleet" and money to procure supplies. He was directed to inform General Washington of such stores as he might capture which are necessary for the use of the army. He was to sink or destroy the vessels which he could not remove to safety. His "despatch, activity, prudence and valor," were relied on to bring success. If Barry's project to destroy British shipping by explosive machines did not succeed, another form of endeavor dependent more upon skill and bravery would accomplish results as satisfactory as had been hoped for by the floating "score of kegs or more that came floating down the tide."

The Supreme Executive Committee of Pennsylvania, then at Lancaster, on February 7, 1778, notified the Navy Board, then at Burlington, New Jersey, that "a spirit of enterprise to annoy the enemy in the river below Philadelphia had discovered itself in Captain Barry and other officers of the Continental Navy, which promised considerable advantage to the adventurous as well as to the public."

The Council had waited to find Captain Barry's example inducing the officers and men of the State fleet to engage in the enterprise—of taking all they could get from the enemy, so that any benefit arising from the plan should accrue to those who signal-

ized themselves in the time of danger. So Captain Barry during the night, with four rowboats with twenty-seven men, started from Burlington and succeeded in passing Philadelphia undiscovered and so unmolested by the British. Barry was acting under orders of General Anthony Wayne, a fellow-member of the FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK, who sent a detachment from Washington's army to aid in the enterprise. After passing Philadelphia, Barry began the destructive work of destroying forage. On February 26, 1778, he arrived off Port Penn and from there, that day, wrote General Washington at Valley Forge that he had "destroyed the forage from Mantua Creek to this place," amounting to four hundred tons. He would have proceeded further but "a number of the enemy's boats appeared and lined the Jersey shore, depriving us of the opportunity of proceeding on the same purpose." Barry discharged all but four of Washington's men, whom he kept to assist in getting the boats away, as his men were rendered incapable through fatigue.

On March 7, 1778, off Bombay Hook, Barry with twenty-seven men in five rowboats captured the "Mermaid" and the "Kitty," transports from Rhode Island, laden with supplies for the British. He stripped the vessels and sent the supplies northward through New Jersey and burned the vessels. The "Alert," a British schooner with eight four-pounders, twelve four-pound howitzers and thirty-three men properly equipped for an armed vessel, came in sight while Barry was engaged in the encounter with the supply vessels. Barry sent a flag to Captain Morse, of the "Alert," demanding a surrender, promising that the officers would be allowed their private baggage, whereupon the "Alert" was "delivered up" to Captain Barry, who granted parole to the Captain to go to Philadelphia for a fortnight. "The schooner is a most excellent vessel for our purpose," wrote Captain Barry to General Washington two days later, when sending him a "cheese and a jar of pickled oysters" from the store of wines and luxuries intended for General Howe's table. He also sent a plan of New York "which may be of service," which he had taken on the "Alert."

Though a fleet of the enemy's small vessels were in sight, "I am determined," wrote Barry, "to hold the 'Alert' at all events;" that as a number of ships with very little convoy were expected Barry declared that with about forty more men he could give a very good account of them. The next day, March 8, 1778, he reported to the Marine Committee the success of the expedition. On the 11th

the Committee congratulated the "gallant commander, brave officers and men concerned in it throughout the whole cruise." He was informed that the "Alert" would be purchased for a cruiser, her name changed to the "Wasp," of which he was to take command or bestow it on some brave, active and prudent officer on a cruise on the coast and off Cape Henlopen, so as "to descry the enemies' vessels coming and going." Barry's "well-known bravery and good conduct" were commended. The British "frigates and small armed vessels," however, attacked Barry. "After a long and severe engagement he was obliged to ground and abandon the 'Alert,' though he saved her guns and most of her tackle," so Washington reported to Congress on March 12th.

That day Washington wrote to Barry:

"I have received your favor of the 9th inst. and congratulate you on the success that has crowned your gallantry and address in the late attacks on the enemy's ships. Although circumstances have prevented you from reaping the full benefit of your conquests, yet there is ample consolation in the degree of glory which you have acquired.

"May a suitable recompense always attend your bravery."

Alexander Hamilton, writing to Governor Clinton, of New York, from Washington's Headquarters, Valley Forge, March 12, 1778, said: "We have nothing new in camp save that Captain Barry has destroyed, with a few gunboats, two large ships belonging to the enemy, laden with forage from Rhode Island. He also took an armed schooner which he has since been obliged to run ashore after a gallant defense. 'Tis said he has saved her cannon and stores—among the ordnance four brass howitzers."

Barry with twenty-seven men had captured one major, two captains, three lieutenants, ten soldiers and one hundred seamen and marines—one hundred and sixteen taken by twenty-seven. He captured also many letters and official papers relating to the Hessians in British service, as well as the Order of *Lion d'Or* for General Knyphausen. This was sent the Hessian general. Barry's success won the admiration of friend and foe. It was at this time Sir William Howe is said to have offered Captain Barry twenty thousand guineas and the command of a British frigate if he would desert the service of the United Colonies. The alleged answer of Barry is stated to have been: "Not the value and command of the whole British fleet can seduce me from the cause of my country."

Any such offer, if made, would more probably have been made by Lord Howe, Commander of the British fleet, brother to General Howe, Commander of the Army. It is of record that he sent Commodore Hazlewood, of the Pennsylvania Navy, a summons to surrender, to which reply was made that he "would not surrender but defend to the last." A like summons to Barry, Commander of the Continental Navy, doubtless received a similar reply, but there is no known evidence or authoritative record that Barry was tempted to desert his country.

WASHINGTON GIVING COMMISSION TO BARRY

CHAPTER VII.

PRAISE FOR BARRY'S SUCCESS—BRITISH DESTROY BARRY'S "EFFINGHAM" AND OTHER VESSELS ON THE UPPER DELAWARE—APPOINTED TO THE "RALEIGH"—PROTECTS THE COAST FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO MASSACHUSETTS—ENCOUNTER WITH TWO BRITISH FRIGATES—BARRY RUNS THE "RALEIGH" ASHORE—HIS ACTION APPROVED AND HIS BRAVERY DECLARED.

Barry's operations on the Delaware were of foremost importance at this period of gloom and darkness. The British were in possession of Philadelphia, the Capital of "the rebels." Washington's men were suffering the distress of Valley Forge, ill-fed and scantily clothed. Barry was destroying forage and capturing supplies. General Wayne was operating around Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey in a like endeavor.

"For boldness of design and dexterity of execution, Barry's operations were not surpassed, if equaled, during the war," says Frost's *Naval Biography.*

"The gallant action reflects great honor on Captain Barry, his officers and crew," wrote William Ellery, one of Massachusetts' delegates in Congress.

Colonel Laurens wrote his father telling of the deeds of Captain Barry, "to whom great praise is due." Washington reported to Congress "with great pleasure the success" of Captain Barry.

Captain Barry considered the Delaware Bay "the best place for meeting with success where he could use his little squadron." On the upper Delaware where the "Effingham," "Washington" and other Continental vessels had been sunk, near Bordentown, by order of General Washington, in April by his orders, also, the Pennsylvania Navy Board, directed that the galleys, shallops and brigs be dismantled and sunk, shot buried and stores lodged throughout New Jersey. All this after "a rather stubborn insistance on the part of the officers" against so doing, just as Captain Barry had protested. Later in the month Barry's "Effingham," the "Washington" and other Continental vessels were raised "from the soft bottom of the river," but on May 7, 1778, a British force, under Major Maitland, was sent from Philadelphia and burned

twenty-one or more vessels and naval stores and destroyed all supplies.

At this time Captain Barry was in command of the squadron in the lower Delaware River and in the Bay. By the destruction of the "Effingham" in the upper Delaware he was without a command other than the temporary one in which he was operating. Accordingly, on May 30, 1778, the Marine Committee appointed him to the command of the frigate "Raleigh," then in Boston Harbor. He was directed to "repair immediately to that place" to take command. He succeeded Captain Thomas Thompson, who was charged with having deserted the "Alfred" (Barry's old-time "Black Prince") in the battle with the British frigates "Ariadne" and "Ceres," by which the "Alfred" became captive.

Captain Barry proceeded to Boston and, taking command of the "Raleigh," refitted her for service and went to sea, stopping at Rhode Island, where he received the orders of Marine Committee, on August 24, 1778, ordering him to cruise in company with the Continental brigantine "Resistance," Captain Burke, between Cape Henlopen and Occracok on the coast of North Carolina to intercept British armed vessels infesting that coast. On May 28th orders were sent to Hampton, Virginia, for delivery to Captain Barry, directing him to take under convoy six or more of the vessels loaded with commissary stores and protect them to the places of destination. Then he and Captain Burke were to proceed and protect the coast line of Virginia and North Carolina, reporting once a week at Hampton for orders, which he, as Senior Officer, should communicate to Captain Burke, and also there receive supplies furnished by the Governor of Virginia.

Captain Barry in the "Raleigh" cruised along the coast from North Carolina to Massachusetts Bay. On September 8, 1778, off Boston Bay he reported to the Marine Committee that many of the guns of the "Raleigh" had burst in proving and the ship was "exceedingly foul" and unfit to further cruise. He was, on September 28, 1778, directed to proceed to Portsmouth, Virginia, where there was a Continental ship-yard, and have the "Raleigh's" bottom cleaned. That done he was to continue "to cruise upon the coast," the "Deane" or any other vessel with him, Barry was to order to cruise while the "Raleigh" was being cleaned.

The Committee had information that the British frigate "Persius," of 32 guns was cruising singly on the coast of South

Carolina. Barry was then ordered as soon as his ship was cleaned to extend his cruising ground so as to cover the coast of that State, taking the "Deane" or other vessel with him in search of the "Persius" and endeavor to "take, burn, sink or destroy" the said frigate or any other of the enemy's vessels "that he might fall in with." If he made a capture he was to take it to Charleston and there fit, man her and take her on the cruise with him.

This order, sent to Hampton, Virginia, did not reach the "Raleigh" as, on September 25, 1778, she had sailed from Boston convoying a brigantine and sloop. That day and the following, two British frigates were seen but avoided. The next day—Sunday—the frigates chased the "Raleigh" from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon when, nearing each other, the "Raleigh" hoisted her colors and the headmost frigate "hoisted St. George's ensign." "We gave her a broadside which she returned, tacked and came up on our lee quarter and gave the "Raleigh" a broadside, which carried away its foretopmast and mizzentop gallant mast, which, to "the unspeakable grief" of Captain Barry, caused him, "in a great measure, to lose command" of the "Raleigh," "determined to victory" as he was. "The enemy plied his broadsides briskly, which was returned as brisk," though the "Raleigh" "bore away to prevent the enemy from raking us." The British sheered off and dropped astern. During the night Barry "perceived the sternmost ship gaining on us very fast and, being disabled in our sails, masts and rigging and having no possible view of escaping, Captain Barry, with the advice of his officers, ran the "Raleigh" on shore to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. The engagement, however, continued "very warm until midnight"—a five-hours' contest, when the frigate sheered off to wait the consort. The "Raleigh's" mizzentopsail had been shot away. Captain Barry ordered the other sails cut loose from the yards. The two frigates appeared and endeavored to cut the "Raleigh" "from the land." The headmost ship proved a two-decker of at least fifty guns. The "Raleigh," "not in the least daunted, received their fire, which was very heavy, and returned ours with redoubled vigor."

"Encouraged by our brave commander, we were determined not to strike," related one of the officers. "After receiving three broadsides from the large ship and the fire of the other frigate on our lee quarter," the "Raleigh" struck the shore, when the enemy poured in two broadsides, which were returned. She then hove in

stays, our guns being loaded gave us a good opportunity of raking her, which we did with our whole broadside. After that she bore away and raked us and both British frigates kept up a heavy fire in order to make us strike to them, which we never did. They ceased and came to anchor a mile distant from the "Raleigh."

The island on which the "Raleigh" struck was uninhabited and being rocky could not be fortified for the defense of the ship. The enemy kept up an incessant fire on her and the men being exhausted after the long contest with the two frigates, Captain Barry ordered the men to land and the "Raleigh" to be set on fire. The eighty-five men were landed, but the treachery of Midshipman Jesse Jaycockt, an Englishman, who extinguished the fire, prevented the destruction. The other officers and men were made prisoners before the boats could return to take them off.

This "unequal contest with two ships was fought with great gallantry and though Captain Barry lost his ship he gained laurels for himself and honor for his country. Perhaps no ship was ever better defended," wrote John Brown, Secretary of the Navy Board at Boston to the Marine Committee of Congress, adding, "Captain Barry's conduct is highly approved and his officers and men are greatly pleased with him."

"His good conduct and bravery are universally allowed," said the *Pennsylvania Post.*

Captain Barry "fought with his usual bravery. His officers and men being sworn not to surrender, our brave Captain Barry avoided violating his oath by running the 'Raleigh' ashore," wrote Colonel John Laurens to his father.

The British frigates were the "Experiment," of 50 guns, and the "Unicorn," of 22 guns, or 72 guns against Barry's 32. The latter had ten men killed and was greatly damaged in hull and rigging in the contest of nine hours duration. The "Raleigh" lost twenty-five killed and wounded. The ship was added to the Royal Navy under the same name. This battle took place off Seal Island, or Fox Island, in Penobscot Bay.

Cooper's *History of the Navy* said, "Captain Barry gained credit for his gallantry on this occasion."

"A noble and daring defence," said Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia.*

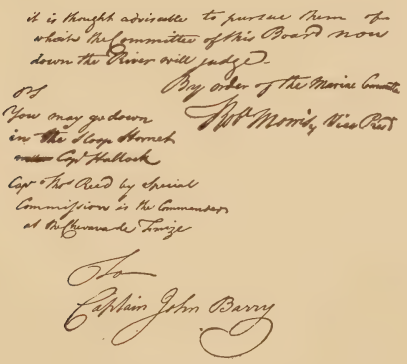
This disaster left Barry without a ship. The loss, though

regrettable, did not lessen his reputation as a skillful and sagacious commander nor mar the character he had won for bravery.

The Marine Committee in ordering the Navy Board at Boston to "order a Court of Inquiry on Captain Barry's conduct," said: "The loss of the 'Raleigh' is certainly a very great misfortune, but we have a consolation in reflecting that the spirited and gallant behavior of her commander has done honor to our flag."

And that it held him not censurable is shown by its statement that as "Captain Harding has been appointed to the command of the frigate at Norwich named the 'Confederacy,' which prevents our giving that ship to Captain Barry."

The Committee was ready at once to give him another command had a vessel been ready for him. That too without waiting the action of the Court of Inquiry, which it had ordered. But the Committee had soon occasion to give an appointment which showed the estimation in which his abilities were held as the foremost naval commander, worthy to be entrusted with its best commands and ships.



ORDER TO CAPTAIN BARRY

CHAPTER VIII.

BARRY APPOINTED TO COMMAND AN EXPEDITION AGAINST FLORIDA —EXPEDITION ABANDONED, BARRY ENTERS THE PENNSYLVANIA PRIVATEER SERVICE—MAKES CAPTURES—RESISTS THE IMPRISONMENT OF HIS CREW—"MY NAME IS JOHN BARRY."

That the loss of the "Raleigh" brought no discredit upon Captain Barry, but rather added to his reputation as a brave and skillful commander is attested by the action of the Marine Committee in appointing him to command an expedition against East Florida.

Major-General Lincoln was to command the Continental and State army forces in the reduction of St. Augustine, Florida, as it "was of the highest importance to the United States."

On November 10, 1778, Congress Resolved:

"That Captain John Barry be and is hereby directed to take command of all armed vessels employed in the intended expedition, subject to the order of the Commander-in-Chief in the Southern Department; and that this commission continue in force till the expedition of the intended invasion of the Province of East Florida or till the further order of Congress; that he proceed with the utmost despatch to the State of Maryland in order to expedite the equipment of the gallies to be furnished by that State and proceed with them to Charleston in South Carolina."

At Charleston armed gallies from Virginia were to be joined. "The success of the expedition depended in the most essential manner on their service." The Continental share of all property taken would be released to the captors.

To prevent difference among officers of the respective States whose gallies would be employed, Captain John Barry was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition. Captain Barry "made some extraordinary demands upon Congress for allowance of a table and a secretary, which the House did not determine on," wrote Henry Laurens, President of Congress, to General Lincoln; adding that "though Captain Barry is a brave and active seaman, the intended service is not pleasing to him, 'tis possible, therefore, he may wish to avoid it and besides you will find old commanders in the two Southern States who will be much mortified should he actually proceed and take the command of them, consequences will

arise which will be disagreeable to you and which may prove detrimental to the service."

The British probably became aware of the intended invasion and so organized a counter-movement against General Lincoln and obliged him to defend his occupancy of Charleston. General Clinton, on December 26, 1778, sailed from New York and a month later, delayed by storms, reached Savannah, the base of his operations against Lincoln. This obliged Congress to abandon its projected expedition against East Florida. So Captain Barry's "extraordinary demands" or the jealousies of the Southern naval officers were, by the course of events, set aside. The aggressive movement of Sir Henry Clinton had frustrated the intended invasion and so all the minor considerations involved therein.

But the high esteem in which Barry was held was proven by the appointment to command the expedition and this, too, immediately after the loss of the "Raleigh." His defense of the "Raleigh" was so bravely performed that the appointment to the Southern expedition was given him as the best testimonial of worth and of fidelity to duty. The loss of the "Raleigh" and the abandonment of the invasion of East Florida left Captain John Barry without an available Continental ship. But such a brave and active seaman could not be listless nor idle while an opportunity could be found or made for doing service for his country. When the "Effingham" and other vessels were tied up in the Delaware, Captain Barry became a landsman and did shore duty, leading a company of volunteers in the Trenton and Princeton campaign.

Now that his country had no ship to give him to do duty for America, he entered the service of his adopted State, Pennsylvania, and became "a bold privateer" by becoming commander of the Letter-of-Marque, the brig "Delaware," owned by Irwin & Co., of Philadelphia. His commission bears date of February 15, 1779. It is in the Lenox Library, New York.

The "Delaware" was a new brig of 200 tons, built to replace the schooner of the same name, which had been driven on the New Jersey shore and set on fire to escape the British early on the morning of November 21, 1777, when the State's Navy had passed up the Delaware River after the attack on Fort Mifflin.

The new "Delaware" carried ten guns and forty-five men when commissioned, but Captain Barry increased the force to twelve guns and sixty men.

The day he was commissioned he stood sponsor and his wife a witness to the baptism of Anna, daughter of Thomas, his brother, born on that morning. On July 21st following, Captain Barry's wife, Sarah Austin Barry, became a Catholic and was baptised, conditionally, Anna Barry, wife of Thomas, being the only sponsor. At this time Captain Barry was cruising in the West Indies. Judith, "the slave of Captain John Barry," an adult, was also baptised on August 19, 1779.

In the "Delaware" Captain Barry made two cruises to Port-au-Prince. Of his first voyage no record has been discovered, but of his second there is sufficient in the account given by his Mate, John Kessler. The "Delaware" sailed on its second cruise in the fall of 1779 in company with three other Letter-of-Marque brigs and one schooner. Of this fleet Captain Barry was made Commodore. He was always so appointed whenever two or more vessels were assigned to one cruise or expedition in which he engaged. When abreast of Cape Henlopen the British sloop-of-war the "Harlem," with eighty-five men and fourteen four-pounders, was taken without resistance, though the officers escaped in boats after heaving overboard all the guns.

The "Harlem" was sent to Philadelphia. The crew was delivered to the militia at Chincopague. Captain Barry reported to the owners that "the commanders in our little fleet are very complaisant and obliging to each other." That the "Harlem" had fourteen four-pounders and eighty-five men. The guns and other things were thrown overboard without firing a shot. The Captain, with ten men, went off in a whale-boat, "but," reported Captain Barry, "we have reason to think, is since overset." The prisoners were taken out, a prize crew put on board, the "Harlem" sent to Philadelphia and the men landed at Sinipaxan, Virginia, as they were too many to keep with safety on board the little fleet. "We have every reason in the world to think we shall catch more before long," reported Barry. The "Harlem" was "a fine vessel and had been a cruiser since the enemy took New York, but at present she is much out of tune," he added.

Of the rest of the voyage out and home nothing specially noteworthy occurred except that a merchant ship from Liverpool was captured and later retaken by the noted Goodrich and carried into Bermuda.

During the war there was often contention between the commanders of the Continental and those of the States' service. The Continentals, when in need of men, often impressed the seamen of the States' fleet and also those of merchant vessels. On Captain Barry's return to the Delaware River the Continental frigate "Confederacy" lay at Chester. She had been impressing the crews of merchant vessels coming up the river. The pilot gave this information to the crew of the "Delaware." It alarmed them very much and many desired to be put on shore. Captain Barry addressed them saying, "My lads, if you have the spirit of freemen you will not desire to go ashore nor tamely submit against your wills to be taken away, although all the force of all the frigate's boats' crew were to attempt to exercise such a species of tyranny." This address, records Kessler, satisfied them, as it implied his consent to their defending themselves. They resolved to do it at all hazards, and for that purpose put themselves under the command and direction of the boatswain and armed themselves with muskets, pistols and boarding pikes, and thus arrived within hailing distance of the "Confederacy." Her commander ordered the brig's maintopsail to be hove to the mast. Captain Barry answered that he could not without getting his vessel ashore. The commander of the frigate then ordered that the brig should come to anchor.

Captain Barry gave no answer but continued on his way, beating up with tide and flood and wind, when a gun was fired from the frigate and a boat, manned, left her and came towards the "Delaware." Captain Barry directed that the officers of the boat should be admitted on board, but as to the men with them, the "Delaware's" crew could do as they pleased. The boat soon arrived and two officers, armed, jumped on board and on the quarterdeck, ordering the maintopsail halyards to be cast off, which, however, was not done. Captain Barry asked whether they were sent to take command of his vessel. The boat's crew were about coming on board when the "Delaware's" men threatened instant death to all who came on board.

The officers after trying to intimidate our boatswain by presenting their pistols at him, and finding it of no avail, hastily sprang into their boats and left.

Another gun was fired from the "Confederacy." Captain Barry ordered the guns cleared and declared that if a rope-yard was injured he would give the "Confederacy" a whole broadside. A

third gun was fired. Captain Barry hailed and asked the name of the commander of the frigate.

The answer was " Lieutenant Gregory."

Captain Barry addressed him: " Lieutenant Gregory, I advise you to desist from firing. This is the brig ' Delaware,' belonging to Philadelphia and my name is John Barry."

" Nothing further was said or done by Lieutenant Gregory," recorded Mate Kessler, who added: " Our whole crew arrived at Philadelphia, but the other vessels of our fleet were obliged to anchor, as the pressing of those who did not get on shore obliged them to remain until assistance was sent from Philadelphia. After our arrival Barry left the command of the brig, he having been ordered to take charge of a Continental 74-gun ship then building in the State of New Hampshire," relates Kessler. James Collins, First Lieutenant, became Captain Barry's successor in command of the " Delaware," which had taken two prizes, the distribution of which was made among the officers and crew, Kessler receiving " in the threefold capacity of clerk, steward and captain of marines."

CHAPTER IX.

CAPTAIN BARRY APPOINTED TO SUPERINTEND THE BUILDING OF THE "AMERICA," FRIGATE—GIVEN COMMAND OF THE "ALLIANCE" AS SUCCESSOR OF LANDAIS, THE FRENCHMAN—THE DISCOVERY OF ARNOLD'S TREASON—"WHOM CAN WE TRUST NOW?"—THE ANSWER TO ARNOLD.

The Continental 74 to which Captain Barry was sent immediately on his arrival at Philadelphia in the "Delaware" was the frigate "America," then building at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. To this command he was appointed on November 6, 1779, by the Marine Committee of Congress, which that day notified the Navy Board at Boston that Captain Barry on his way to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he goes to hasten the building and fitting out of the new ship on the stocks at that place, would present the notification desiring the Committee to "push forward with all possible expedition" the work Captain Barry had been entrusted with. Barry's orders were "to hasten as much as may be in your power the completing of that ship, which we are desirous of having done with all despatch."

On November 20th, as desired by Captain Barry, Captain George Jerry Osborne was appointed to command the marines of the ship, but as it would be "a considerable time before there is occasion to raise the men," he was appointed "on the principle of his being useful in doing matters relative to the ship until that time." How long Captain Barry continued to superintend the building of the new Continental ship—later named the "America," does not appear, but on June 1, 1780, there is record in the *Pennsylvania Archives* [Vol. I, 5th Series] that Captain John Barry became the commander of the Pennsylvania privateer, the "American," of 14 guns and 70 men. Possibly the work of directing the construction of a vessel was not congenial to the active spirit of one who was at his best amid the more earnest exertions required by a life at sea, seeking the destruction or capture of the armed vessels of the enemy. So again he became a privateersman in the service of his State. He so served three months.

On June 26, 1781, Captain John Paul Jones was appointed, in succession to Barry, to superintend the construction of the

"America," while Barry was doing service at sea in command of the "Alliance." The expense of launching and equipping the "America" was paid from the shares of the United States "in the prizes taken by Captain Barry" in the first cruise of the "Alliance" under his command. The Board of Admiralty were directed to assign these shares to Robert Morris by Resolution of Congress, June 3, 1781. The "America" when launched in November, 1781, was presented to France to replace the "Magnifique," wrecked in Boston Harbor.

The Continental Marine Committee, knowing well Barry's worth, on September 5, 1780, appointed him "to the command of the Continental frigate 'Alliance' now in the port of Boston." He was "directed to repair there as soon as possible to get the ship ready for sea with all possible despatch." The "Alliance" was the largest and finest vessel of the Continental Navy.

Thus we see again that the best available position was always given to Captain Barry. The first armed cruiser under direct Continental authority—the "Lexington"—was given him, then the "Effingham," of 32 guns, the largest armament of any vessel, was assigned him, and he was made Senior Commander of the Port of Philadelphia. On its destruction by the British, while he was operating in the lower Delaware, he was appointed to the "Raleigh." On its loss, for which Captain Barry suffered no detriment, he was made commander of the projected expedition to Florida. When that enterprise was abandoned he was given command of a fleet of the Navy of Pennsylvania. At the termination of the cruise the appointment to construct the best vessel the country had projected was given him. Then he was commissioned to the "Alliance," the best and finest vessel the United Colonies ever possessed. In that he remained as commander while the war continued, and at its close he was Commodore of all armed vessels remaining in the service of the Colonies, just as Washington was Commander-in-Chief of all the forces, military and naval, at the end of the war. As commander of the fleet, Barry was second to Washington.

The "Alliance," which Captain Barry took charge of in September, 1780, was so named in honor of the alliance with France. As a further compliment to the French, Captain Pierre Landais, a Frenchman, had been appointed Captain. He was relieved of the command and Captain Barry succeeded him. These were the only commanders the "Alliance" ever had—Landais the Frenchman and

Barry the Irishman. Landais is buried in St. Patrick's cemetery, New York; Barry in St. Mary's, Philadelphia. One in faith and one in endeavor for our country.

The "Alliance" was the only American vessel in the expedition sent out by King Louis XVI, under John Paul Jones, which resulted in the ever memorable encounter with, and capture of, the "Serapis" by the "Bonne Homme Richard," commanded by Captain John Paul Jones. During the battle the "Alliance" twice fired into Jones' vessel and did damage. For this, on arrival in France, he was called on to make explanations and John Paul Jones, as Commodore of all American vessels in Europe, was appointed by Commissioner Benjamin Franklin, on June 16, 1780, to take "command of the 'Alliance' in her present intended voyage to America." But Silas Deane supported Landais, who ordered Jones off the vessel and set sail for America. On the voyage, his mental faculties becoming more erratic, the officers took the command from him and entrusted it to Lieutenant James Degges.

On arrival at Boston, Captain Barry was appointed to the command and the Courts of Inquiry and Courts-Martial tried Landais and dismissed him from the service. He died in New York in 1818 and is buried in St. Patrick's graveyard.

Captain Barry now commanded "the most perfect piece of naval architecture" than which the navies of France or England had none more complete. Landais and Barry were the only duly commissioned and regularly appointed by Continental authority commanders of the "Alliance," who at sea, on voyage or in battle ever directed her operations, yet a block of timber of the "Alliance" exhibited in the Revolutionary Relic Museum at Independence Hall is inscribed: "Commanded by John Paul Jones during the Revolutionary War."

There is no mention of its chief commander, John Barry, and that ignoring of his right to recognition is within sight of his statue erected by The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of Philadelphia, March 16, 1907. Let that Society now secure the Commodore's right to the command his country gave him.

The appointment of Captain Barry had special significance at the time it was made—after the discovery of the treason of Benedict Arnold. He had issued on October 7, 1780, an "Address to the Soldiers of the American Army," in which he declared he thought "it infinitely wiser and safer to cast his confidence upon Great

Britain's justice and generosity than to trust a monarchy too feeble to establish your Independence, so perilous to her distant dominions and the enemy of the Protestant faith."

Washington, in almost faint-hearted despair on the discovery of Arnold's treachery, had asked: "Whom can we trust now?" Was the answer to Washington and Arnold that made by the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress by the appointment of Captain John Barry to the largest, finest and best American war-vessel named in honor of an alliance with France, the alleged "enemy of the Protestant faith," as Arnold had declared?

Was that the answer to Arnold by the Congress whom he had denounced "as mean and profligate" and "praying a soul out of purgatory," because the members had attended the Requiem service in St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, in behalf of the soul of Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish Agent to the Congress, and in the very church which Captain Barry attended when in Philadelphia.

The Irish-born Catholic, John Barry, could be trusted with the very best when the native-born Protestant, Arnold, had betrayed the country for pelf and position among the oppressors of the native land of John Barry and the native land of the infamous Benedict Arnold.

What more could the adopted land of John Barry do for one who had been so faithful and so helpful from the first day of opportunity to serve her? It will erect a monument at the Capital of the Nation for America as Ireland's Sons of St. Patrick have erected one at Independence Hall. His new country had given him the first, and at all times the best, she had to bestow, as his native land had given to America. Place of birth nor creed of faith made no disparagement of such superior worth as John Barry possessed.

The Congress that had, to the people of Great Britain, denounced Barry's religion as "one fraught with impiety, bloodshed, rapine and murder in every part of the globe," had given to the Irish-born Catholic who gave the best he possessed in talent, ability and service to the cause of America, had also given him the first of her war vessels, continued to give him the best she, too, possessed and, finally, while the native-born traitor almost paralyzed the hearts of the patriots, gave to the foreign-born and staunch Catholic, the foremost vessel in her navy, one "so swift, so warlike, stout and strong," as to be the admiration of Europe's most expert naval commanders, while America had dismissed from her service, as

incompetent, the native-born Esek Hopkins, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Navy of the Colony. It is somewhat singular, therefore, that the foremost naval commanders of the Navy during the Revolutionary War were John Barry, of Ireland, and John Paul Jones, of Scotland—"foreigners," as John Adams spoke of both in 1813.

The lines of the Poet of the Revolution, Philip Freneau, may most appropriately be inserted here, to show the regard in which the vessel was held while John Barry was its commander:

"When she unfurls her flowing sails,
Undaunted by the fiercest gales,
In dreadful pomp she plows the main,
While adverse tempests rage in vain.
When she displays her gloomy tier,
The boldest Britons freeze with fear,
And, owning her superior might,
Seek their best safety in their flight.
But when she pours the dreadful blaze
And thunder from her cannon plays,
The bursting flash that wings the ball,
Compels those foes to strike or fall."

"She was in many engagements and always victorious—a fortunate ship—a remarkably fast sailer—could always choose her combat—could either fight or run away—always beating her adversary by fight or flight," Philadelphia's annalist, Watson, made that record of her.

Such was the vessel commanded by Captain John Barry, the Wexford boy, in the closing and eventful year of the Revolution, which established our country's Independence and Liberty, to become the home of countless thousands of all lands who might enjoy the Liberties John Barry had so conspicuously aided in winning.

CHAPTER X.

THE "ALLIANCE" SAILS FOR FRANCE—CAPTURES A BRITISH CRUISER—RETURN TO AMERICA—THE LOSS OF THE "LA FAYETTE"—MUTINY.

The selection of John Barry, at this crisis in our country's struggle for Liberty and Independence, to the command of the foremost ship of the new Republic is a most conspicuous and honorable testimony to his merits, abilities and services. None additional is needed.

The "Alliance" was selected to convey Colonel John Laurens as a special Commissioner to France to seek "an immediate, ample and efficacious succor in money, large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangement of finance, to revive public credit and give vigor to future operations."

There was delay in sailing owing to a shortness of crew and the inability to procure recruits. In the meantime Captain Barry was, on November 10, 1780, appointed, by the Navy Board of the Eastern Department, President of a Court-Martial, together with Captains Hoystead Hucker, Samuel Nicholson and Henry Johnson, Lieutenants Silas Devol, Patrick Fletcher, Nicholas E. Gardner and Samuel Pritchard, Lieutenant of Marine, to meet on November 21st to try Lieutenant James Degges to determine whether he was justified in revolting against the authority of Captain Landais of the "Alliance" and usurping command on the voyage from France. A Court-Martial was also held for the trial of Captain Landais, and he was dismissed the service. There is much interesting history connected with these trials, but they do not properly enter into this recital further than to say that Captain Landais' erratic conduct in command of the "Alliance" was due to mental deficiencies as was afterwards generally acknowledged. These became so manifest in the voyage to America that the officers took the command from him.

On February 2, 1781, so impatient at the delay had become Colonel Laurens that, as all other resources had failed, he applied to General Benjamin Lincoln to allow recruits for the army fitted for marine service to be engaged and nowhere so advantageously employed.

Patrick Sheridan, an enlisted soldier of Boston, is one known

to have been given leave to join the "Alliance." On February 11, 1781, the "Alliance" sailed from Boston with Colonel Laurens, Thomas Paine, Comte de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette and other celebrities. On the way to France the "Alliance" captured, on March 4th, the British cruiser "Alert," which had possession of the "La Buonia Compagnia," a Venetian ship which, "contrary to the Laws of Nations and every principle of justice" had been seized by the British cruiser called the "Alert" from Glasgow, Francis Russell commander, by whom the Venetian crew were put in irons and otherwise cruelly treated.

Captain Barry released the Venetian "out of respect for the Laws of Nations and the rights of neutrality." Colonel Laurens in reporting to Congress, from L'Orient, March 11, 1781, where the "Alliance" had arrived two days before, related the action of Captain Barry, whereupon on June 26th it was resolved that Congress approve of Captain Barry's conduct in releasing the ship belonging to the Republic of Venice, retaken by him from a British privateer on March 4th last, it being the determination always to pay the utmost respect to the rights of neutral commerce. The Venetian Senate also expressed to Franklin, our Ambassador at Paris, through the Ambassador of Venice, their "grateful sense of the friendly behavior of Captain Barry, commander of the 'Alliance,' in rescuing one of the ships of their State from an English privateer and setting her at liberty."

It may be remarked as a singular circumstance that the "Alert" was, probably, the cruiser which, on September 10, 1777, had captured Barry's first command, the "Lexington," which was then commanded by Captain Henry Johnson and which Barry had, in March, 1778, captured in the Delaware Bay, but which was retaken by the British a few days later and which, on September 17, 1778, captured the American cruiser "La Fayette." If so, Captain Barry's gratification must have been great in again capturing the "Alert."

The importance of Captain Barry's services in this voyage must be noted. He succeeded in conveying to France Colonel Laurens, whose father had been sent on a similar mission, but had been taken prisoner while on the way, and at the time of his son's going on the same mission was a prisoner in the Tower at London. Captain Barry's responsibility was, therefore, great. Skill and acuteness were most essential to avoid encounter with a superior British force and thus endanger the safety of the special Com-

missioner charged with so important a duty at this "infinitely critical posture of our affairs," as Washington wrote Franklin.

To promptly and safely convey Colonel Laurens was more important to the general good than for Barry to make captures and prizes. Yet he not only performed the duty assigned him, but took two prizes from the enemy—its "Alert" and its own prize, the Venetian ship, restoring it to its country.

Barry's captures were, in notable cases, double captives, taking two in each encounter. On the Delaware Bay expedition he had taken the "Mermaid" and the "Kitty," which he held and the "Alert" which was retaken. Now we find him taking that "Alert" and its prize. These double captures we shall, later, see repeated—taking two prizes in one battle—killing two birds with one stone, as it were. And it took two British cruisers to inflict the only loss he ever had—the loss of the "Raleigh."

Captain Barry took the "Alert" to L'Orient, where the crew were imprisoned. Laurens secured from France a gift of six millions from the King—as well as clothing and military stores. It was sent in the "Resolute" which sailed from Brest, June 1, 1781, and arrived at Boston August 25th. It was this money which moved Washington's army to Yorktown, Virginia, by paying the army one month's pay in specie and enabling supplies to be furnished. Congress had no credit to get money or supplies until the arrival of the French funds. Other portions of the money were used to pay overdue French loans. That was our hard-pressed country's method of paying its debts.

The importance of the duty assigned Captain Barry to get Colonel Laurens to France is thus made manifest. Well performed, its results brought the downfall of British supremacy in America. Failure to safely convey Laurens would have brought untold disaster upon the cause of Independence and Liberty and, mayhap, long have delayed the winning and the triumph.

On March 23, 1781, Captain Barry, after obtaining supplies needed, was assigned the Letter-of-Marque vessel "Marquis de La Fayette," commanded by Captain Gallatheau, which was loaded with stores for Congress, and directed that, as he was about to return to America, that the "La Fayette" would proceed under his convoy to Philadelphia. On March 29th the "Alliance" and "La Fayette" sailed from L'Orient in company.

When the "Alliance" left L'Orient on her returning cruise to

America, Captain Barry, by orders of Franklin, directed Captain Gallatheau, of the ship "Marquis La Fayette," to proceed to the United States under convoy of the "Alliance," as the vessel was laden with one hundred tons of saltpetre, twenty-six iron eighteen-pounders, fifteen thousand gunbarrels, leather, uniforms for ten thousand men and cloth for five or six thousand. After being under convoy for three weeks in a gale of wind which split the sails of the "Alliance," the "La Fayette" disappeared. Captain Barry gave signals by flags and guns and cruised about for two days in search of the missing vessel. Five days after the separation the "Suffolk," British man-of-war, of 74 guns, met the "La Fayette" and after three hours' battle made her captive though reduced to "a perfect hulk." For thirteen days she was towed by the "Suffolk."

Investigation made by Congress into the cause of this great loss showed, by the evidence of Captain Robeson, on board the "La Fayette," that the separation was the fault of Captain Gallatheau by sailing away from the "Alliance" contrary to every argument of Captain Robeson. The loss aggregated four hundred and fifty tons of public stores and two hundred men, besides the armament of twenty-six eighteen-pound guns and fourteen six-pounders.

On March 30th a mutiny plot was discovered among the crew of the "Alliance." It is best related in the words of Kessler, Barry's friend and officer:

"An Indian, one of the forecastle men, gave Captain Barry information of a combination among the crew for the purpose of taking the ship, and pointed out three who had striven to prevail on him to be concerned therein. The three men were immediately put in irons and all the officers, with such of the crew as could be confided in, were armed and required to remain all night on deck. On the next morning all hands were called and placed on the forecastle, booms and gangways, excepting the officers and such part of the crew in whom Captain Barry confided, who, armed strongly, guarded the quarterdeck, the steerage and the main deck to keep the remainder of the crew together on the forecastle and boom. The three designated men were brought out of their irons on the quarter-deck, and being stripped and hoisted by the thumbs to the mizzen-stay, underwent a very severe whipping before either would make any confession. As their accomplices were disclosed they were called to the quarter-deck, stripped and tied to the ridge-rope of

the netting and the whipping continued until it was thought all was disclosed that could possibly be obtained, which proved to be: that it was intended to take the ship on her passage out by killing all the officers in the middle of the watch of the night, except Lieutenant Patrick Fletcher who was to navigate her to some port in Ireland, or, on failure, to be destroyed. A quartermaster, one of the mutineers, was to have command. They all had been bound by an oath on the Bible, administered by the Captain's assistant cabin steward, and had also signed their names in a round-robin, so-called, but that they found no opportunity on the outward passage and intended to accomplish taking of the ship as aforesaid immediately on leaving France. But on coming out of L'Orient we lost a man overboard who was one of the chief ring-leaders, and they, considering that as a bad omen, threw the round-robin overboard and relinquished their designs. The three principals were placed securely in irons and the remainder, after being admonished by Captain Barry, and on their solemn declaration to conduct themselves well, were permitted to return to ship's duty. This mutiny was discovered Sunday, March 31, 1781."

On April 2d two British armed cruisers were seen at seven in the morning. The "Alliance" gave chase and the two Britishers "stood for" the "Alliance." They neared each other at ten o'clock when the two gave the "Alliance" a broadside, which was "returned double-fold" so effectively that one struck her flag and hove to. She was the "Mars," of twenty twelve-pounders, two sixes and twelve four-pounders and one hundred and eleven men. The other ran while the "Alliance" "fired a number of bow chasers at her" and in an hour hove to and surrendered. She was the "Minerva," mounting eight four-pounders and fifty-five men. The "Alliance" received "considerable damage" from the shot of the enemy. Lieutenant Fletcher and fourteen men were placed in charge of the "Minerva" as a prize crew. Here again in one battle Captain Barry captures two of the enemy's cruisers. The "Alliance" continued the cruise and went to the West India waters seeking prizes.

On May 2d a brig and a snow (a small vessel) loaded with sugar from Jamaica for London were captured and being manned from the "Alliance" was ordered to Boston. Again two captures. Later in the day a fleet of sixty-five sail, convoyed by ten sail of line, were observed but prudently not molested by Captain Barry.

Later in the day a brig from Jamaica bound to Bristol, England. We "gave the brig two bow guns at meridian," notes the log of the "Alliance." She surrendered. "Sent our boats, on board and took the prisoners out." The next day another vessel, with seven four-pounders also from Jamaica to Bristol, was taken and the prisoners brought on board the "Alliance."

Not until May 28th was there another opportunity found, when early on that morning an armed ship and a brig were discovered about a league distant. At sunrise they hoisted the English colors and beat drums. At the same time Captain Barry displayed the American colors. By eleven o'clock Captain Barry hailed the ship and was answered that she was the "Atalanta" ship-of-war belonging to His Britannic Majesty, commanded by Captain Sampson Edwards. Captain Barry then told Captain Edwards that he, John Barry, commanded the Continental frigate the "Alliance" and advised him to haul down the English colors.

Captain Edwards replied, "Thank you, Sir. Perhaps I may after a trial."

The firing then began. The "Alliance" had not wind enough for steerage way. The enemy being lighter vessels, by using sweeps, got and kept athwart the stern of the "Alliance" so that she could not bring half her guns to bear upon them, and often but one gun out astern to bear on the two—thus lying like a log the greater part of the time. Captain Barry received a wound in the shoulder from a grape shot. He remained on the quarter-deck until exhausted by loss of blood, when he was helped to the cock-pit for treatment. Soon the colors of the "Alliance" were shot away. This caused the enemy to believe the Americans had struck their colors. They gave three cheers and manned their shrouds expecting a surrender. But the colors of the "Alliance" were again run up—a breeze sprung up—a broadside was given the "Atalanta" and another given the "Trepassy," the brig. They then struck their colors to the "Alliance." Captain Smith, of the "Trepassy," was killed. The Captain of the "Atalanta" was brought on board and taken to Captain Barry, wounded in his cabin. Captain Edwards advanced and presented his sword. Captain Barry received it but at once returned it, saying:

"I return it to you, Sir. You have merited it. Your King ought to give you a better ship. Here is my cabin at your service. Use it as your own."

He then ordered Lieutenant King, of the "Trepassy" brig to be brought to him. The crew of the "Atalanta" and the prisoners Barry had on the "Alliance," numbering 250, should all be put on the "Trepassy," her cannon thrown overboard, and she sent to Halifax as a cartel for the exchange of American prisoners, while the Captain and Lieutenant remained as hostages. The "Atalanta" was retaken by the "Charlestown" and "Vulture." On account of Captain Barry's wound, the "Alliance" made all sail for Boston. Kessler relates that when Captain Barry had been carried to his cabin to have his wounds dressed, the Lieutenant later went to him and reporting that the "Alliance" was very much damaged, many men killed and wounded and of the disadvantages for want of wind, asked "Shall the colors be struck?"

Captain Barry passionately answered: "No, Sir, and if the ship cannot be fought without me, I will be brought on deck." The officer immediately returned to deck. Captain Barry, after being dressed in haste, was on his way to the deck when the enemy struck. The "Alliance" lost eleven killed and twenty-four wounded. From her crew of two hundred and eighty—three prize crews had been taken—fifty were on the sick list. A few of these were able to sit between decks and hand powder to the magazine. There were more than one hundred prisoners on board, as well as those of the crew of a mutinous disposition. Add to all this disadvantage the total calm prevailing until near the end of the contest, the capture of the two British vessels was one of special noteworthy importance. "It was considered a most brilliant exploit and an unequivocal evidence of the unconquerable firmness and intrepidity of the victor," says Frost's *Naval Biography*. Here again we find Captain Barry adding to his record of capturing two prizes in one action.

The "Alliance" continued cruising, searching for other prey, but not meeting any, made for Boston, where she arrived June 6, 1781. Captain Barry's wound was yet in a dangerous condition. So he sent Kessler to Philadelphia to bring on Mrs. Barry. The "Alliance" being much shattered in her masts, sails and rigging, a thorough overhauling and repairing was needed. The three mutineers were tried and condemned to be hanged. The sentence was commuted to "serve during the war." Captain Barry refused their admission on the "Alliance," so they were delivered to a recruiting party as soldiers.

CHAPTER XI.

JOHN PAUL JONES SEEKS TO BE "HEAD OF THE NAVY" IN PLACE OF BARRY—BARRY TAKES LAFAYETTE TO FRANCE, AFTER THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, ON "BUSINESS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE"—ORDERED TO TAKE NO PRIZES—LANDS LAFAYETTE—RETURNS TO AMERICA.

On July 25, 1781, Captain Barry reported to the Board of Admiralty that he was "almost recovered" of his wound and in a few days would be able for duty, his presence being very requisite on account of the scarcity of officers. He made recommendations for places. On June 24th Captain James Nicholson had written Captain Barry congratulating him upon his success. He related in detail the endeavors of Captain John Paul Jones by personal application to members of Congress to have himself declared "Head of the Navy." He told Barry that his "arrival and success came opportunely and I did not fail to make use of it in presence of Captain Jones and some of his advocate members by observing that you had acquitted yourself well, which they acknowledged. I then told them they could not do less than make you an Admiral also. I had not a sentence in reply. It irritated Jones so much that he was obliged to decamp." This shows that among naval men Barry was then regarded as "Head of the Navy"—as he was in fact if not by title.

In 1781 the Admiralty and Navy Boards were abolished by Congress and all naval affairs given to the Finance Department, supervised by Robert Morris. At this time the "Alliance" and the "Deane," frigates, constituted the whole of the effective navy. On September 21st Mr. Morris notified Captain Barry that it was projected to have the two frigates sent out upon a cruise under Barry's command to "disturb the enemy" by taking prizes, and neither fixing the cruising ground nor its length of time, knowing Barry would take "the most likely course and be anxious to meet such events as will do honor to the American flag and promote the general interest." He was to transmit at every opportunity reports of his operations to Morris and to General Washington any intelligence which may affect his operations. But, late in October, the "Deane" not being manned as soon as the "Alliance," Barry was directed to proceed to sea as soon as the "Alliance" would be ready.

But the victory at Yorktown on October 19th, when Cornwallis surrendered his army to the combined French and American forces and to the French fleet, caused a change to be made in the movements of the "Alliance."

Instead of going out to seek prizes to procure funds to be applied to the support of the small navy, Captain Barry, on November 21, 1781, was directed to take Lafayette to France "on business of the utmost importance to America." So urgent was this mission that Barry was directed to take part of the crew of the "Deane," place them on the "Alliance" and to take such French seamen as the Consul could procure. If still short of men the Governor of Massachusetts should be applied to for permission to impress seamen wherever found. Besides Lafayette, his brother-in-law, Vicomte de Noailles, General Du Portail, Colonel Gouvion, Major La Combe and others were also taken on the "Alliance."

Morris directed that "the safe and speedy arrival of Marquis Lafayette is of such importance that I think it most consistent with my duty to restrain you from cruising on the passage. You are, therefore, to avoid all vessels and keep in mind as your sole object to make a quiet and safe passage to some port in France."

Regarding stores for the accommodation of the French gentlemen, "Let it be done with discretion; remember we are not rich enough to be extravagant nor so poor as to act meanly." If funds were needed for a return cruise Barry was advised to "prevail with the Marquis to give you credit, but you must remember that all the money we have or can get in France will be wanted for other more important purpose, therefore, I charge you not to expend one livre more than is absolutely necessary."

The "Alliance" sailed from Boston on December 23, 1781, and arrived at L'Orient, on January 18, 1782. During the voyage a British ship appeared in sight, "as if she could give them sport," as Barry's crew often wishing "Lafayette was in France," stated it. Barry's peremptory order to avoid all vessels and take no prizes debarred an encounter with the enemy. The crew manifested discontent at avoiding the possible prizes and, relates Kessler, this appeared to increase the conflict in Barry's mind between the call of duty and his inclination. Instead of reprobating and promptly punishing what on other occasions would have been the case, he was governed by a sullen silence which, if propriety permitted him to break, would have pronounced: "I also wish the Marquis were in

France." But duty triumphed then as ever with Barry. As speedily as wind and wave and skill could force onward the "Alliance" she sped on her mission of the "utmost importance," and in twenty-three days Lafayette was in France.

Barry's instructions permitted him, after his placing Lafayette "in France," to cruise in search of prizes until March 1st. The "Alliance" sailed from L'Orient on February 10, 1782, and returned after seventeen days without making any captures, the vessels met being neutral ships.

On March 16, 1782, the "Alliance" sailed from L'Orient for return to America and here again disappointment came. All the vessels spoken on the voyage "none were of the enemy." On May 10th the "Alliance" arrived off the Delaware Bay. The British frigate "Chatham," of 64 guns, and the "Speedwell," sloop-of-war, barred entrance to the river, and off New York two more frigates joined in the chase of the "Alliance," but she, having a speed of fifteen knots an hour, succeeded in escaping the much superior force and getting to New London, Connecticut, on May 13th. This incident was one of traditionary interest among the veterans of the old time wooden navy.

"Not a prize this trip! Hard luck indeed," wrote Barry to John Brown, Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, to whom also he wrote that Robert Morris had sent him orders to join the French frigates at Rhode Island and be under their command. "Mr. Morris," wrote Barry, "must be unacquainted with his rank or he must think me a droll kind of a fellow to be commanded by a midshipman. I assure you I don't feel myself so low a commander as to brook such orders. I suppose he will be much offended. I assure you although I serve the country for nothing I am determined no midshipman shall command me, let him be a chevalier or what he will."

Barry wrote from New London to Mr. Brown: "I never was in such a damn country in my life. You never was in so miserable a place in your life. All the people here live five miles from home. Not a house have I been in but the tavern and one Irishman's." The tavern was kept by Thomas Allen, an Irishman from the island of Antigua, whose "antipathy to the British was abnormal"—and so we may well believe he was a kindred spirit to that of Commodore Barry.

Though Captain Barry thought he had "hard luck" in not

taking a prize, yet the log-book of the "Alliance," a copy of which he sent the Committee of Investigation, relates that on April 3d he fell in with two privateers, gave each of them a broadside, one of them struck, the other ran; hove out a signal for the "Marquis La Fayette" to take charge of the privateer that had struck while the "Alliance" went in chase of the other, "which we shortly after took." The record again shows Captain Barry did as he usually had done—captured two vessels in a battle.

Though he brought in no prize he yet was not unmindful of Mrs. Barry, but brought her a carpet and "a wash kettle full of claret," and doubtless other luxuries of the time as well as advising her "not to stay so much at home," as it "was clever to visit one's friends now and then, besides it is helpful to good health," added the gallant Captain.

CHAPTER XII.

A Most Successful Cruise—Nine Prizes.

The "Alliance" while at New London was fitted out for a cruise on which she started August 4, 1782, at four o'clock in the morning. Barry had a few days before an interview with General Washington. By seven o'clock Barry had captured from the enemy a brig laden with lumber and fish which "had been cut out of Rhode Island by the enemy." The cruise was first to the Bermudas and then to the Banks of New Foundland.

On August 9th Barry took the schooner "Polly" bound from Bermuda to Halifax with a cargo of molasses, sugar and lime and sent her to Boston. On August 19th arrived at the Bermudas after chasing several vessels, among which was the "Experiment," of 18 guns, which escaped into St. George's Harbor. On the 23d Barry sent Captain Tufts, of the "Polly," to inform the Governor that unless all the American prisoners were released he would remain for three weeks and hinder vessels going in or coming out which, said Barry, he "could effectively do as their whole force was not sufficient to cope with the 'Alliance.'" On August 25th Barry chased the privateer "Hawk" and took from her the sloop "Fortune," which she had captured. The "Hawk" escaped.

The "Alliance" continued cruising and chasing vessels until August 30th, when learning from a brig from Guadeloupe bound for Rhode Island, that a large fleet had sailed from Jamaica, Captain Barry concluded to attempt to overhaul by running northeast. On September 8th he captured a Nantucket brig returning from a whaling cruise. It had protection papers from Admiral Digby and permission to bring the oil to New York, then in British possession as during almost all the war. At this time the "Alliance" was off the Banks of New Foundland, where on September 18th the capture of a brig, one of the Jamaica fleet, was made. Barry learned that the convoy—the "Ramilie," of 74 guns—had foundered in a gale and that the fleet he was in search of had scattered.

On September 24th Barry took two ships—on 27th he captured another. On the following day he captured a dismantled ship and all of the fleet from Jamaica he had been in search of and ordered them to L'Orient, France, where the "Alliance" with the prizes arrived October 17th, and the prisoners, except those who had

entered into American service, were sent on shore. Most of the prisoners belonged at Glasgow where they had families. Otherwise these also would have entered under Captain Barry. "The separation," records Kessler, "was more like the separation of old friends than that of individuals of nations at war." Their treatment on the "Alliance" while prisoners was good. The officers were given quarters with officers—the privates placed with the privates of the "Alliance," enjoying fare alike. No confinement, no abridgment of food nor any labor required of them.

Several officers of the "Ramilie" were captives. The treatment they received from Captain Barry was so different from the usual treatment of American officers by the British commanders, it "made them blush for their country," notes Kessler, the Master's Mate. The captures numbered three ships, one snow, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop, all merchant vessels, variously loaded—nine prizes. Four other prizes were brought by the "Alliance" to L'Orient and four sent to America. They were sold at auction.

The shares of the United States as shown by Robert Morris' accounts were:

The "Kingston," 75,834.11.3 livres or $14,083.39
The "Commerce," 104,263.12.5 livres or $19,308.08.
The "Britannia," 43,620.18.5 livres or $8,077.85.
The "Anna," 71,656.11.5 livres or $13,269.60.

The prizes were loaded with rum, sugar, coffee and liquors. One-half the proceeds went to the Government—the other part to the captors. A Captain was entitled to six shares. Captain Barry's report of the cruise, dated October 18, 1782, reads: "A few hours after I sailed from New London I retook a brigantine and sent her in there; proceeded as fast as possible off Bermudas; on my way I took a schooner from that place for Halifax; after cruising off there for twelve or fifteen days I retook a sloop from New London and sent her to Cape François. Finding the prizes I had taken of little value either to myself or the country and in all likelihood should be obliged to return into port soon for want of men, was determined to alter my cruising ground. I, therefore, thought it best to run off the Banks of New Foundland. On my way thither I fell in with a whaling brigantine with a pass from Admiral Digby; I manned her and sent her to Boston. A few days after, off the Banks of New Foundland, I took a brigantine from Jamaica bound

to London loaded with sugar and rum and sent her for Boston; by this vessel I found the Jamaica fleet was to the eastward of us. I then carried a press of sail for four days. The fifth day I took two ships that had parted with the fleet. After manning them, and a fresh gale westwardly, I thought best to order them to France. A day or two after I took a snow and a ship belonging to the same fleet.

"Being short of water, and a number of prisoners on board, the westwardly winds still blowing fresh and the expectation of falling in with some more of them, I thought it best to proceed to France, with a determined view to get those I had already taken in safe and after landing the prisoners to put out immediately; but meeting with blowing weather and high sea, I lost the sails of the head and was in great danger of losing the head, which accident obliged me to put in here, where I arrived yesterday with the four prizes. After repairing the damages and getting what the ships may want I shall put to sea on a cruise."

While at L'Orient, Captain Barry was invited by Lafayette to come to Paris, but as he had been "indisposed with a fever which confined him for ten days" and the ship ready to sail, he could not accept, but wrote the Marquis he envied the Captain who was to take him to America, but as that pleasure could not be his, Barry hoped to command the ship that would convey Lafayette back to France, when he would visit Paris and "have the honor of seeing Lady Fayette," an honor his brother who since was lost at sea had had.

CHAPTER XIII.

Officers of the "Alliance" Refuse to Serve—Peace.

Though in October Captain Barry hoped in a few days to proceed on a cruise it was not until December 8, 1782, that he was ready to sail, which he did the next day. Lieutenants Patrick Fletcher and Nicholas Gardner, John Buckley, Master; James Geagan, Surgeon, and Samuel Cooper, Purser, demanded two-thirds of their wages, "though they had received as much prize-money as they knew what to do with." Captain Barry informed them that he had no authority to pay them and had no money if he had. They refused to go on board the "Alliance" and do their duty. Accordingly, Captain Barry placed them under arrest until tried by Court-Martial in the United States. He was obliged to appoint others, "not adequate to the duty of the stations, 'but necessity knows no law,'" he wrote Thomas Barclay, Consul-General of the United States and Commissioner of the Navy in France, who justified Barry's course and concurred in the appointments he made.

All this time there were rumors of peace. On November 30, 1782, preliminary articles of peace had been signed. On December 5th King George III announced that he had given the "necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the Continent of North America."

Though Captain Barry, early in December, 1782, had "great reason to think peace was concluded," he decided to make another cruise by "running down the coast of Guinea" and returning to America by way of Martinico, believing "should peace be made there will be a certain time given for vessels to make prizes in certain latitudes."

The "Alliance" sailed from L'Orient on December 9th, but though chasing several vessels, no encounter came about. On December 16th arrived at Porto Sancto—the next day the island of Madeira. Sailed hence and on January 8, 1783, arrived off Martinico. At St. Pierre Harbor Barry found orders for him to proceed to Havana to take in specie for Congress.

On January 12th sailed for Havana and after stopping at St. Eustatia and Cape François arrived there January 17th. While off Hispaniola Barry met an English fleet of seventeen sail, but he

"got clear of them." The next day met two British cruisers, one of 74 guns. They chased the "Alliance" under the guns of Cape François.

On February 13th Captain Barry notified the Governor of Havana that the "Alliance" and "Duc de Lauzun," frigates belonging to Congress, were ready to sail from that port. He requested permission for the frigates to depart as he had "despatches from the Court of France which are very important," and also desired that the American merchant vessels at the port should be permitted to depart under convoy of the "Alliance." The Governor replied that, complying with secret instructions from the King, it was entirely out of his power to grant the permission sought. To which Barry replied that it was somewhat singular for ships of war employed on national objects to be restricted in the same manner as merchant vessels. He then again asked "in the name of my Sovereign for permission for the sailing of the two American ships of war." He withdrew his request for the trading vessels as they were "fully under the influence of the embargo." The Governor replied that he and the Admiral of the Squadron had consulted and decided that permission could not be given then. He advised Captain Barry "to reflect on the immense prejudice that might occur to the common cause of the allied powers and commerce of Spain if any unlucky accident should happen by the enemy taking one of the frigates."

On February 22d, Washington's birthday, Captain Barry issued orders "to exercise the great guns and the small arms every day, to loose the topsails in order the men could learn to do it well, to have wood and water ready for sea." He evidently was having the ship ready for service and action though he had brought the news of peace to the West India Islands.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Last Battle of the Revolution.

Captain Barry's foresight in having everything ready for war, although the preliminary articles of peace had been signed, was soon manifested. The "Alliance" left Havana on March 6, 1783, in company with the "Duc de Lauzun," commanded by Captain Greene. There also sailed nine Spanish warships. Not knowing where the Spaniards were bound to, Captain Barry decided to make his own way and ordered Captain Greene to follow him.

The "Alliance" and "Lauzun" had seventy-two thousand dollars "of public money on board," which Captain Barry had been entrusted with to deliver, by order of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, to George Olney, of Providence, R. I., in case he arrived in that harbor. The afternoon after leaving Havana two British cruisers were seen. Captains Barry and Greene "stood for the Spanish fleet," of which some vessels had been seen in the morning. He did this as "the only way to save the 'Lauzun,'" as that vessel sailed "much heavier" than the "Alliance." At ten o'clock at night they got in sight of part of the Spanish fleet. The British men-of-war had followed closely and had got within gun-shot of the "Alliance" and "Lauzun" when, observing the lights of the Spaniards, they abandoned the chase. Barry and Greene kept in company with the Spaniards all night—though they found in the morning that they were but eight or ten sloops and schooners. "However, they answered our ends," reported Captain Barry.

The British not being in sight and no tidings of them among the Spaniards, the Americans "made the best of their way." Finding the "Lauzun" much slower than the "Alliance," the public money on board of her was transferred to the "Alliance." On the morning of the 9th "three large sail of ships," British men-of-war, were seen "standing directly for us," reported Barry. He signaled Greene to follow him, who replied the enemy were of superior force. The "Alliance" having the money, Barry believing he could be of no service to the "Lauzun," made all sail and ran faster than the British could follow. But Barry shortened sail and spoke the "Lauzun." By this time one of the British, a 32-gun frigate, was within gun-shot of the "Alliance" and the "Lauzun"—the other two British cruisers a little way astern and fast coming up to the

"Lauzun." Captain Greene told Captain Barry the two were privateers, but Barry "told him he was mistaken" and that he knew better.

While the "Alliance" dropped astern, the foremost British frigate shortened sail and would not come near the "Alliance."

Later the two British came up fast. Captain Barry, "confident within" himself that the "Alliance" "would have fallen a sacrifice" if he remained with the "Lauzun," signaled Captain Greene to heave his guns overboard so as to get clear of the enemy by lightening his ship. By this time one of the British was within gun-shot of the "Lauzun." They fired several shots at one another but at too great a distance for either to do damage. In the morning a strange ship had been seen to the southward, but sailing away from the "Alliance." In the afternoon after the "Lauzun" had exchanged shots with the enemy pursuing her, this "strange sail" stood for the Americans. Barry had "all the reason in the world to suppose she was a stranger to the enemy also," as at that time the "Lauzun" was firing "stern chasers" at her pursuer. Barry then ran down between the "Lauzun" and the enemy in order to give Captain Greene a chance to get off by bringing the enemy into action, which Barry did "close on board for forty-five minutes, when the enemy sheered off." During the action the "Alliance" had ten wounded—one dying later. The "spars and rigging were hurt a little but not so much but they would all do again." Captains Barry and Greene then sailed towards the strange ship. It proved to be a French gun ship of 60 guns, which had sailed from Havana two days before Barry and Greene. It had half a million dollars on board and was bound to one of the French islands.

Kessler relates that Captain Barry expected the French gunship to assist the "Alliance"; that two of the British kept "at a distance as if waiting to ascertain about the French ship." But though she "approached the Americans fast," she did not join in the encounter. When Captain Barry afterwards "asked them why they did not come down during the action, they answered they thought they might have been taken, and the signal known; that the action was only 'a sham to decoy him.'"

"His foolish action," records Kessler, "thus, perhaps, lost us the three frigates, for Captain Barry commenced the action in the full expectation of the French ship joining and thereby not only be able to cope but to subdue part, if not the whole of them."

The French proposed to give chase. This was done, but the French ship could not keep up with the "Alliance" or the slower "Lauzun." This battle took place on March 10, 1783. The British frigate was the "Sybille," commanded by Captain Vashon, which, on January 22, 1783, had been captured from the French by the British "Hussar," commanded by Captain Thomas Macnamara Russell. Captain Vashon "confessed he had never seen a ship so ably fought as the 'Alliance,' that he had never received such a drubbing and was indebted to his consorts for his escape from capture." He always spoke of Captain Barry in the most magnanimous terms.

"The coolness and intrepidity no less than the skill and fertility in expedients which Captain Barry displayed on this occasion are described in naval annals as truly wonderful; every quality of a great commander was brought out with extraordinary brilliancy."

This is the occasion on which Captain Barry is said to have replied to the hail of the British that his was "The United States ship 'Alliance,' Saucy Jack Barry, half Irishman, half Yankee! Who are you?"

I do not believe this true. It is too bombastic to suit the character of Captain Barry. He could not have called himself "Saucy," for nothing of impetuosity or dare-devilishness was ever manifested in his career. Nor did he ever flippantly call himself "Jack."

"My name is John Barry," was his dignified declaration to Lieutenant Gregory, as we have seen. It embodied respect and determination and dignity of character which he ever maintained.

Let not his admirers lessen that dignity.

This—the last battle of the Revolution—occurred March 10, 1783, after the signing of the Provisional Articles of Peace at Paris, November 30, 1782; after the Preliminary Articles for Restoring Peace, signed at Versailles on January 20, 1783, and also after the Ratification of the Preliminary Articles on February 3, 1783, by the Ministers of the United States, France and Great Britain, by which a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon.

On April 11, 1783, Congress, by Proclamation, ordered the "cessation of arms as well by sea as by land." But, one month prior, Captain John Barry had the final encounter on the ocean in defense of the Liberty and Independence of the United States. He had thus commanded the first Continental cruiser, the "Lexington" and also commanded the last Continental frigate, the "Alliance";

bringing to Congress the first prize brought to Philadelphia and defending and saving the last Continental war money brought to the country on the last armed vessel of the new Nation. He commanded the "Lexington," the first vessel commissioned by authority of the Continental Congress. He commanded the "Alliance," the best vessel the Congress had commissioned and the last in the Continental service. He brought Congress its first prize. He brought Congress its last war money.

On March 20, 1783, the "Alliance" arrived at Newport, R. I. —the last war day, as on the next day the "Triumphe," commanded by Chevalier du Quesne, arrived at Philadelphia with the preliminary Treaty of Peace. She had been despatched from Cadiz on February 11th by D'Estaing, who was ready to sail with sixty ships of the line and a very formidable armament, but had given up the voyage on the agreement for peace.

On March 25th—Annunciation Day—Congress ordered the recall of all vessels cruising under authority of the United States.

On April 19, 1783, Washington announced the close of the war and the disbandment of the army.

On April 16th the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in Barry's home city—Philadelphia—to "a vast concourse of people, who expressed their satisfaction on the happy occasion by repeated shouts. The State flag was hoisted and the bells were rung and a general joy diffused itself throughout the city."

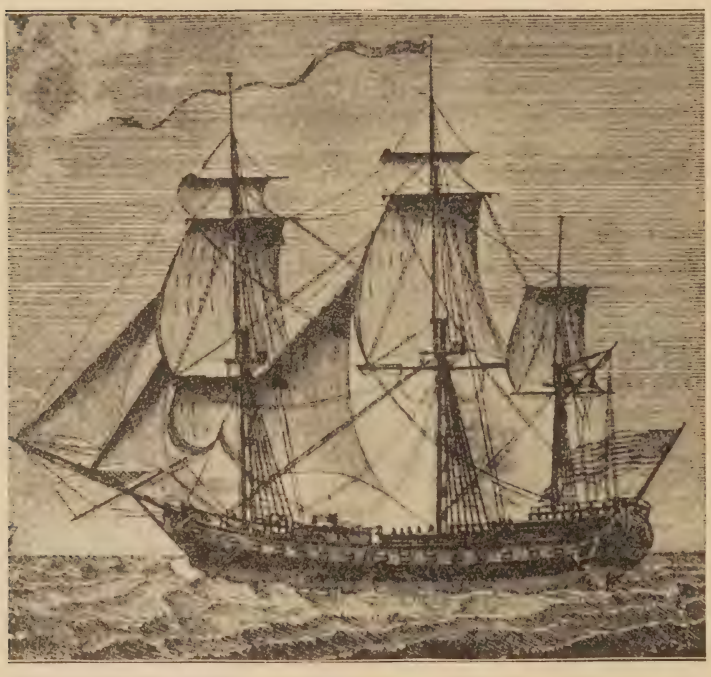
New York City had been under British control nearly the whole war. How great the contrast there. "When the proclamation was read nothing but groans and hisses prevailed, attended by bitter reproaches and curses on their King for having deserted them in the midst of their calamities."

Philadelphia, the seat of the "Rebellion," now by success made a "Revolution," was open to the commerce of the world. On May 2d the ship "Hibernia," Robert Scallan, Master, arrived from Dublin and soon, at the store of Clement Biddle his cargo of "gold and silver silks, rich and slight brocades, flannels, Mantuas and fabrics, colored and sky colored tissue and Florentines, tamboured silks and satin, shapes for gentlemen's vests and black Norwich capes" were on sale.

Joy bounded throughout the land. Meetings were held to express patriotic sentiments. The men of Northampton, Pa., did so. The ladies of Northampton followed the next day. Among the

"toasts" on the occasion was this: "May the Protestant religion prevail and flourish through all nations."

Yet John Barry, an Irish-born Roman Catholic, had battled all the eight years—from the first to the last of the fight—to win Freedom and Independence for the land in which these Ladies of Northampton "hoped the Protestant religion might prevail."



THE FRIGATE "UNITED STATES"

CHAPTER XV.

BARRY VISITS THE "SYBILLE" ON HIS RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA—PEACE IS DECLARED—ORDERED TO AMSTERDAM WITH TOBACCO—THE "ALLIANCE" BECOMES DISABLED—IS ORDERED SOLD.

After Captain Barry had arrived at New London it was nearly three months before he came on to Philadelphia. Mrs. Barry had, in April, gone on to New London. Captain Barry returned home by way of New York. The "Sybille" was there. Captain Barry visited her and was "politely treated" by Captain Vashon. The vessel yet bore the marks of the injury Barry had inflicted and "they said they had not been treated so roughly before," records Kessler. Some of the Hessians were embarked on her for return home. As she had received "eighteen cannon shots her condition was such that pumps had to be manned night and day to keep her from filling five to eight feet of water." That proved how she had been shattered by Barry. Captain Barry, after a brief visit to Philadelphia, returned to Providence Harbor and soon set sail for the Rappahannock River, Virginia, for a cargo of tobacco for Amsterdam, Holland, on public account, to pay the interest on loan negotiated there. This was in August, 1783.

On the way down the Providence River the "Alliance," when going four or five miles an hour, ran against a sunken rock, which "stopped her as quick as thought," related Barry. After remaining on the rock two hours and finding the ship made no water in consequence of the mishap, the "Alliance" proceeded to Virginia where she took on 500 hogsheads of tobacco weighing 530,000 pounds.

The Accounts of Robert Morris show that to meet this Holland Loan, 1837 hogsheads of tobacco weighing 1,937,355 pounds had been sent by Daniel Clarke, Agent of the Finance Department.

On August 24th the "Alliance" sailed from the Capes of Virginia "with good prospects before us and in hopes of a short voyage. But," as Captain Barry reported to Robert Morris on the 26th from the Delaware Bay, "as is often the case when people's expectations are buoyed up with great prospects they frequently find themselves disappointed."

"We had not been long out with a moderate breeze, wind and smooth sea when we discovered all of a sudden the ship to make nineteen inches per hour and soon to have three feet of water in her hold and so damaging the tobacco."

Captain Barry then "made for the Delaware." Though her bottom was "perfectly sound when bore down at Providence," Barry believed the run on the rock caused the leak. The damage to the "Alliance" was serious enough to warrant Congress appointing a committee to examine the condition of the ship. On September on their report Congress ordered the ship "to be unladen and her cargo freighted to Europe on the best terms." The Agent of Marine was directed to discharge officers and crew, have her surveyed and a report made of the expense "necessary to give her a good repair." Five hundred hogsheads of the tobacco were reshipped on the "Princess Ulrico" [480 hhds.] and the "Four Friends" [20 hhds.].

Had the voyage to Amsterdam been made, Barry would have stopped at London. Robert Morris gave him a (July 24, 1783) letter of introduction to Messrs. Bewickes & Mourgue of that city stating that: "He has proved himself a brave and deserving officer in the service of his country and a worthy man in every station of life." (Crimmin's Autographs.) He also had a letter from John Paul Jones to friends in Paris.

In pursuance of the Act, Robert Morris, Agent of Marine, appointed as surveyors Captains John Barry and Thomas Read and Messrs. Thomas Penrose, Joshua Humphreys, Jr., and Benjamin G. Eyre. The latter were shipbuilders. They estimated the repairs would cost 5866⅔ dollars—that it was not necessary to keep the "Alliance" for the protection of commerce and it would be to the interest of the Union to dispose of her. A resolution to direct the Agent of Marine to dispose of her by public auction was adopted on June 3, 1785. She was sold on August 1, 1785. So Congress parted with its last and its best vessel. The new Nation was without a ship or flag on the ocean. Captain Barry had the first Continental vessel. He commanded the last one. Great must have been his satisfaction when given the "Lexington." Sad, indeed, must he have been in parting with the "Alliance."

She was purchased by Coburn & Whitehead for £2287 or $7,700 in certificates of public credit. They sold to Robert Morris "at a great profit." She became a merchant vessel and in June, 1787,

made a voyage to China, returning September, 1788. She was of 724 tons—a large ship for those days. After all her perilous voyages and wonderful escapes from the enemy she was beached on Petty's Island in the Delaware River opposite Kensington, Philadelphia. Part of her timbers remained until 1901 and her hulk was visible at low tide. The widening of the channel caused the removal of what remained of her hulk. Pieces are preserved at the Museum of Independence Hall, where it is labeled as having been commanded by John Paul Jones. Another portion is at the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. There also may be seen the card table and soup tureen of the Commodore, deposited by the compiler of this record.

CHAPTER XVI.

After the War Barry Secures the Adoption of the New Federal Constitution by Forcing a Quorum of the Assembly—Is Sued—Goes to China in Command of the "Asia," a Merchant Vessel.

After the sale of the "Alliance," Captain Barry "rested from his labors," but yet concerned about many things pertaining to his friends and their interests. We find him recommending subordinate officers for positions in the merchant service, in petitioning Congress that officers of the Navy be put on "a footing similar to their brother officers of the land service, as to half-pay or commutation and lands according to their ranks, as they were the only class of officers who remain neglected and totally unprovided for." He referred evidently to his own experience when he said, "few of the ships belonging to the United States were ever suffered to cruise, but were sent on private service and ordered not to go out of their way, but to keep clear of all vessels whatever and that such as were permitted had particular cruising grounds pointed out to them, which frequently ensured them severe blows and but few prizes."

When in 1787 a Federal convention had been held in Philadelphia to formulate a Constitution by which the States could form "a more perfect union" and "promote domestic tranquility," the present Constitution of our country was formulated by the convention for ratification by the several States. In each State controversy and discussion arose over the consideration of the advisability of adopting it as the supreme law of the land.

The Confederation had proven unsuited to the needs of the country. So a new plan of government was necessary. On September 17th, the day the Convention had adopted the Constitution, the Pennsylvania members of the Convention at once notified the Assembly of the State, then in session at the Hall of Independence, that they were ready to report to the Assembly. The next morning "the honorable delegates, led by Benjamin Franklin, were ushered into the Hall of the Assembly, made their report and presented the new Constitution." No action was taken by the Assembly. On September 29th, the last day but one of the session, George Clymer proposed to refer the Act of Ratification to a Convention of the State. Pleas for delay were made. Thomas FitzSimons, a Catholic,

one of the Representatives at the Constitutional Convention and also a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, opposed delay in submitting the new Constitution to a convention of the citizens for adoption or rejection.

It was resolved to call a State Convention, but no day was fixed for its meeting. Nineteen members had voted against calling it. On their behalf it was asked that the consideration of the time of the meeting of the convention should be postponed until the afternoon. This was granted. When the House again met, the nineteen were absent. The Assembly lacked a quorum. The absentees were sent for, but refused to appear. Mr. Wynkoop declared: "If there is no way of compelling those who deserted from duty to perform it, then God be merciful to us!"

There was a way of "compelling" and Captain John Barry led the compellers.

The next morning a number of citizens, whose leader was Commodore John Barry, forcibly entered the lodgings of James McCalmont and Jacob Miley, the members from Franklin and Dauphin Counties, dragged them to the State House and thrust them into the chamber where the Assembly was in session without a quorum. With these two there were forty-six representatives present—a quorum. Mr. McCalmont informed the House that he had been forcibly brought into the Assembly-room, contrary to his wishes, by a number of citizens. He begged he might be allowed to retire.

Thomas FitzSimons replied that if any member of the House had forced the gentleman from the determination to absent himself, such member's conduct met the disapprobation of the House. But Mr. McCalmont was now here and the business of the State cannot be accomplished if any one is suffered to withdraw.

When Mr. McCalmont attempted to leave he was restrained by the citizens who had "dragged" him into the Assembly. The House resumed the fixing a time for the Convention to act on the Constitution. The date was fixed. The people cheered. Christ Church chimes rang and Captain Barry, we may be sure, was happy. By his action within twenty-three hours of the adoption of the Constitution by the Federal Convention, Pennsylvania had ordered a State Convention to consider it. Verses relative to the "dragging" were soon published. One extract recited:

> "It seems to me I yet see Barry
> Drag out McCalmont."

But McCalmont undertook the "dragging" of Barry into Court. On October 13, 1787, he applied to the Supreme Executive Council and the Council directed the Attorney-General to commence a prosecution against "Captain John Barry and such other persons as shall be found to have been principally active in seizing James McCalmont or otherwise concerned in the riotous proceedings." Ben Franklin, President, was one of the eight who voted for the resolution. The Attorney-General began suit but at the Council meeting, February 16, 1788, he requested the advice of the Council "relative to the suit carried on by their order against Captain John Barry." The Council informed him it did not wish to interfere, but left the matter with him to do as he judged best.

So nothing more was done about the suit. By this time Captain Barry was on the high seas on his way to China in the merchant ship "Asia," in which he had sailed on January 7, 1787. It returned to Philadelphia, June 4, 1789. So Captain Barry had been away over two years. Eight years afterwards, on July 7, 1797, the "Asia," commanded by Captain Yard, when returning from Bengal, was captured in sight of Cape May, New Jersey, by the Spanish privateer "Julia," commanded by Don Baptista Mahon, a name indicating Irish descent. She was valued at $800,000. But the next month she was recaptured by an American privateer off Havana.

Columbia claims her soldier love and Ireland joys to own
The boy who sailed from his Wexford home undaunted if unknown;
Columbia guards his latest sleep—hers was his manhood's noon.
Ireland's the vigorous cradling arms and tender cradle croon;
For Ireland paints the dreaming boy on the lonely Wexford shore,
In 'customed clasp may meet the hands of mother and foster-mother
Above his grave, who was loyal to each as each unto the other.

—*Margaret M. Halvey.*

CHAPTER XVII.

Captain Barry Offers His Services to President Washington in Case of War Against the Algerines.

In 1793 France and England engaged in war, seized each other's vessels on the American coast and often within American waters. The Algerines were committing depredations on American commerce. Hence a naval force was necessary. When Congress assembled in December, 1793, the building of frigates early engaged attention, not only to protect commerce from the ravages of the Algerines but from the aggressions of France as well as from the violation of our neutrality by England.

The United States was without a ship.

Captain John Barry was prompt to offer his services to his country.

On March 19, 1794, he wrote President Washington:

"*Sir:*—Finding that the Government have partly determined to fit out some ships of war for the protection of our trade against the Algerines, I beg leave to offer myself for the command of the squadron, conceiving myself to be competent, thereto assuring your Excellency that should I be honored with your approbation, my utmost abilities and most unremitting attention should be exerted for the good of my country and also to approve myself worthy of the high honor shown by your Excellency.

"To your Obedient, Humble Servant,

"March 19, 1794.
"His Excellency."

A week later, March 27, 1794, Washington signed an Act declaring that "the depredations of the Algerine Corsairs on the commerce of the United States rendered it necessary that a naval force should be provided for its protection."

This Act is the foundation of our present Navy.

Congress ordered the building and equipment of three frigates of forty-four guns and three of lesser weight and tonnage.

On June 5, 1794, public announcement was made of the appointment of six Captains to superintend the construction and

to take command of the vessels thus ordered. The notice sent to Captain Barry read:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, June 5, 1794.

"*Sir:*—The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has appointed you to be a Captain of one of the ships provided, in pursuance of the Act to provide a naval armament, herein enclosed.

"It is understood that the relative rank of the Captains is to be in the following order:

John Barry,
Samuel Nicholson,
Silas Talbot,
Joshua Barney,
Richard Dale,
Thomas Truxtun.

You will please to inform me as soon as convenient whether you accept or decline the appointment.

"I am, Sir, etc.,

"To
CAPTAIN BARRY."

"HENRY KNOX,
Secretary of War.

Captain Barry at once accepted, saying:

"STRAWBERRY HILL, June 6, 1794.

"The honor done me in appointing me Commander in the Navy of the United States is gratefully acknowledged and accepted by,

Sir,
Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant,

John Barry

The original is in the Force Collection in the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library.

The commission was not signed nor issued by Washington until February 22, 1797, when the frigate the "United States," built under the superintendency of Barry, was ready for launching at Philadelphia. The original commission is in possession of Barry's grand-niece, Mrs. W. Horace Hepburn, of Philadelphia.

Captain Barney declined appointment because of the rank—the fourth—assigned him. Captain James Sever was appointed but given the sixth place. Captain Nicholson, at Boston, on June 14, 1794, congratulated Captain Barry on his "honorable appointment to the Command of our Navy."

"Captain Barry," says Cooper's *History of the Navy,* "was the only one of the six surviving Captains of the Revolutionary War who was not born in America, but he had passed nearly all his life in it and was thoroughly identified with his adopted countrymen in interest and feeling. He had often distinguished himself during the Revolution and, perhaps, of all the naval Captains that remained, he was the one who possessed the greatest reputation for experience, conduct and skill. His appointment met with general approbation. Nor did anything ever occur to give the Government reason to regret its selection."

So the County Wexford Irish Catholic boy had become the Commander-in-Chief of the new Navy of the new Constitutional United States. Appointed by Washington, "the Father of His Country," Barry thus became "the Father of the American Navy," in the many distinguished sons of the sea who were trained under him.

His commission reads, "to take rank from the fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four."

There are gallant hearts whose glory
  Columbia loves to name,
Whose deeds shall live in story
  And everlasting fame.
But never yet one braver
  Our starry banner bore
Than saucy old Jack Barry
  The Irish Commodore.

—*William Collins.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

APPOINTED TO SUPERINTEND THE BUILDING OF THE FRIGATE, THE "UNITED STATES," THE FIRST OF THE NEW NAVY—GOES TO GEORGIA TO SELECT TIMBER FOR THE FOUR FRIGATES.

On April 12, 1794, Joshua Humphreys, of Philadelphia, was directed by General Knox, Secretary of War—there was no Department of the Navy until 1798—to prepare models for the frame of the frigates to be built. On June 28th, Humphreys was appointed "Constructor or Master-Builder of a 44-gun ship to be built at the port of Philadelphia at the rate of $2000 per annum—the compensation commencing on the 1st of May last, in consideration of your incessant application to the public interest in adjusting the principles of the ships, drawing drafts and making moulds, etc."

On August 7th, General Knox notified Captain Barry: "You are to consider yourself as the Superintendent of the frigate to be built at the port of Philadelphia and which is to mount 44 guns." This frigate was named the "United States." It was built on the Delaware River at the foot of [now] Washington Avenue near the old Swedes Church. It was constructed mainly of Georgia live oak, "the most durable wood in the world," selected by Captain Barry who, in October, 1794, by direction of Tench Coxe, Commissioner of the Revenues, proceeded to that State for that purpose, sailing on the brig "Schuylkill" which carried oxen and horses which were "of the highest importance to the expediting of the timber for the several frigates," to which Captain Barry was to give all possible exertions "to the cutting and transportation of the timber for his own and every other frigate."

On October 14th the "Schuylkill" arrived at Gashayes Bluff, on the island of St. Simon, where he found Mr. John T. Morgan, superintendent of cutting the timber, but not "a stick of wood cut." Barry sent him "into the country to try and get hands." He got six. Barry succeeded in getting ten more. So that on the 20th Morgan set the sixteen at work. On the 22d eighty-one woodcutters arrived from New London. They were set to work. Barry after "doing all in his power at St. Simon's" went to Savannah to charter a vessel—returned to St. Simon's and thence to Philadelphia, wherefrom, he, on November 10th, reported to Commissioner Coxe.

On December 12th he presented his bill of expenses for "Voy-

age to Georgia on Public Account." He had been given $200. His expenses amounted to $124.24. So he returned $75.76.

His salary as Captain of the Navy was $75 a month.

Captains Barry, Dale and Truxtun on December 18, 1794, wrote the Secretary of War that the frigates could be built and equipped next year, adding, "It would be highly gratifying to us who have thrown aside our former occupations and the prospects that were fair for increasing our fortunes, with a view of serving our country, and who have no desire of being mere sinecure officers if we could at this moment embark and obey the commands of our country, in going in pursuit of a barbarous enemy, who now holds in chains and slavery so many of our unfortunate fellow-citizens; the relieving and restoring of which to the bosom of their families and friends are, with that of having an opportunity to chastise their cruel oppressors, objects of our greatest ambition and which we anticipate with all the ardor of officers, of seamen and of citizens."

But no haste was made in building the frigates. Temporary diplomatic arrangements with France quieted or averted action. Our country paid tribute to the Barbary State and sent barrels of silver to purchase tolerance on the sea from these pirates as a cheaper method of peace than the cost and maintenance of armed vessels of war would be.

By the Act of March 27, 1794, work on the frigates was to cease in the event of peace being signed with Algiers. So when on December 21, 1795, Washington informed the Senate that the Emperor of Morocco had signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States, work on the frigates was suspended. Washington called the attention of Congress to the loss that would come if the work ceased, whereupon on April 20, 1796, Congress ordered the unexpended balance to be used, but ordered the work to be discontinued. Yet President Washington in his message had declared: "To secure respect for a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. . . . Our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure. Will it not then be advisable to begin without delay to provide and lay up materials for the building and equipping of ships of war and to proceed with the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable, without inconvenience so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the unprotected state in which it was found by the present."

The cannon for the frigates had been cast at Cecil Furnace, Maryland. Captain Barry, on May 16, 1796, was sent there "to see the guns and examine whether they were suitable or fit for service."

The frigate "United States" was progressing rapidly towards completion. Captain Barry, on September 19, 1796, estimated the cost of fitting out for officers and men at $7285. The vessel when completed cost $299,336. She was 175 feet in length, 44 feet beam and of 1576 tonnage. She was launched May 10, 1797.

"In the long list of splendid vessels which in a hundred combats have maintained the honor of our national flag, the 'United States' stands at the head." She served our country well in the war with France under Barry; also in the war with England in 1812-15 and in subsequent duties, peaceful or warlike.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF COMMODORE BARRY.

By Michael Fortune.

Columbia's friend, freed from this worldly coil,
Now rests (so Heav'n ordains) from human toil;
A Patriot firm, thro' chequer'd life unblam'd,
A gallant vet'ran, for his powers fam'd.
Beneath his guidance, lo! a Navy springs,
An infant Navy spreads its canvas wings,
A rising Nation's weal, to shield, to save,
And guard her Commerce on the dang'rous wave.

Whoe'er the Sage, his character shall scan,
Must trace those Virtues that exalt the man,
The bold achievement and heroic deed
To honor's fame, the laurel'd Brave that lead,
Long for his merits and unsully'd name
(Dear to his friends and sanctify'd name);
His clay cold relics shall his country mourn,
And with her tears bedew his hallow'd urn.

Come, cheering Hope—celestial cherub come—
Say that his virtues soar beyond the tomb,
Say that with Mercy in ethereal guise,
His white-robed spirit climbs yon op'ning skies.

(Philadelphia, Sept., 1803.)

CHAPTER XIX.

LAUNCH OF THE "UNITED STATES"—WAR WITH FRANCE—BARRY COMMANDS THE AMERICAN FLEET IN THE WEST INDIES—CAPTURES THE "SAN PAREIL"—AGAIN SENT TO THE WEST INDIES—BARRY FIRES ON THE FRENCH BATTERIES AT BASSE TERRE—TO FRANCE AGAIN—DEATH OF OUR HERO.

The frigate "United States" though launched in May, 1797, was not ready for sea until July, 1798, when, on 3d July, the new Secretary of the new Department—the Navy—Hon. Benjamin Stoddert, directed Captain Barry "to proceed to sea with the first fair wind," and expressing President Adams' "conviction that nothing on your part will be wanting to justify the high confidence reposed by him and your country in your activity, skill and bravery."

He was directed to cruise "from Cape Henry to Nantucket," to "defend this extent of coast against the depredations of the vessels sailing under authority or pretence of authority of the French Republic," and to "afford all possible protection to the vessels of the United States coming on or going off the coast," in conjunction with Captain Dale. Captain Barry was authorized "to subdue, seize and take any armed French vessel which should be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States or elsewhere on the high seas, with apparel, guns and appurtenances." On July 11, 1798, Secretary Stoddert notified Barry that information was received that "the French have considerable force in the West Indies" and that "it is thought that a small squadron under the command of an officer of your intelligence, experience and bravery might render essential service and animate your country to enterprise by picking up a number of prizes in the short cruise of these islands."

So Barry was directed to take the "Delaware," Captain Stephen Decatur; the "Herald," Captain Sever, and a revenue cutter of 14 guns from Boston "and to proceed to the West Indies and so dispose of the vessels as to afford the greatest chance of falling in with French armed vessels," to "look into St. John's, the principal

harbor of Porto Rico and after two or three days' cruising, return to the continent."

"The object of the enterprise," said the Secretary, "is to do as much injury to the armed vessels of France and to make as many captures as possible." He closed saying, "It is scarcely necessary for me, in writing to a brave man who values his own country, its government and its laws, to suggest the usefulness of inculcating upon those under his command the propriety of preserving in their language and conduct the same respect which he himself feels for those constitutions and those characters which deserve the respect of all. It is time we should establish an American character. Let that character be a love of country and a jealousy of its honor. This idea comprehends everything that ought to be impressed upon the minds of all our citizens, but more especially of those citizens who are seamen and soldiers."

Barry was directed, when at St. John [San Juan], to write the Governor requesting that the American seamen who had collected there to return to the United States should be permitted to do so, but as the United States was at peace with Spain no hostile measures were to be taken to obtain them if the civil authorities should not produce them. Barry and Decatur sailed northward and off the coast of New England. On July 26, 1798, they sailed for the West Indies, the revenue cutter not being ready to proceed with them. The "United States" and the "Delaware" returned to Philadelphia September 21, 1798. Captain Barry had captured the French schooner "Le Jaleux," of 14 guns and 70 men and also the "San Pareil," of 10 guns and 67 men, belonging to Guadeloupe. The "San Pareil," in 1794, captured the vessel on which Charles and Catharine, children of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, were returning from England. Proceeding to the West Indies the "San Pareil" fell in with the "Pallas" bound to the Kennebeck and compelled her to take the passengers and crew to Boston. [Rowland's *Carroll* II, p. 200.]

Now Barry had captured the "San Pareil." The crews were imprisoned at New Castle, Del., until November 6th, where it was alleged, by opponents of the Adams administration, they were cruelly treated by being neglected and uncared for. "The government allowed nothing, though it furnished blankets. The French Consul had neither funds nor orders to give his countrymen relief."

Secretary Stoddert, then resident at Trenton, New Jersey, because of the yellow fever, wrote President Adams, at Quincy, Massachusetts, that "Barry returned too soon. His reason, apprehensions from the hurricanes in the West Indies at this season. Upon the whole, it is better than to have kept the ships sleeping on our own shore, though the result of the enterprise falls very far short of my hopes."

Yet the Secretary had when reporting to the President that Barry had been sent to the West Indies "to be employed while the French have but little force" and that "the hurricane season" was near, had yet "hopes" that neither Barry nor Decatur had been able to satisfy. By direction of the President both were, on September 28, 1798, sent out again—"Decatur to cruise from the Delaware to Cape Henry and Barry to cruise from the Delaware along the eastern coast northward"—though the Secretary had informed the President "it is not to be apprehended that our coasts will be much molested by French cruisers," as they had no force in the West Indies equal to ours "and it was not probable they could send a force from Europe." Barry and Decatur were ordered to return about November 15th. Barry on the cruise was "to protect the trade from Delaware to New Hampshire, while Decatur did the same from New York to the Chesapeake."

Barry sailed from New Castle on October 8th without "a single article for the ship but ballast and," so he wrote Mrs. Barry, "my reason for going to sea without these is the European ships are expected any day and should any of them be taken and I lying in the harbor, the merchants may blame me and no other, although it would not be my fault." Barry returned on November 9th "totally unexpected," as an "accident had prevented the 'United States' from getting to Newport," where the ship had been expected to appear.

On November 29, 1798, Captains Barry, Dale, Truxtun and Tingley were directed to report upon "a proper system" for the government of the Navy." He had previously recommended the establishment of Navy Yards and organization of a Navy Department. The War Department had, previous to 1798, directed all naval affairs. At the opening of Congress in December, 1798, President Adams, in his Message, declared the law of France, that "neutral vessels with British fabrics or produce, although the entire

property belonging to neutrals, were liable to seizure," was an "unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nation it attacks," and so "whether we negotiate with her or not, a vigorous preparation for war will be alike indispensable." He urged the increase of the Navy. Congress in February, 1799, added six 74's and six 18's to the naval force at a cost of $2,400,000. The naval appropriation for 1799 amounted to $4,594,677.

On December 7, 1798, Captain Barry was placed in "immediate command" of the frigates the "United States," the "Constitution," the "George Washington," the "Merrimac" with four or five more vessels of nearly the same force as the latter (24 guns). The fleet was to be employed in the West Indies in active operations for the "protection of our commerce and for the capture or destruction of French armed vessels from St. Christopher's as far as Barbadoes and Tobago," and to "pay considerable attention to Cayenne and Curricoa and even to the passage from the United States to Laguayra, on the Spanish Main, to which place our citizens carry on considerable trade," but above all, Barry was "to relieve our commerce from the piccaroons and pirates continually issuing from the Island of Guadeloupe."

Captain Truxtun was assigned "from St. Christopher's to Porto Rico," with two or three vessels of 14 and 18 guns. Captain Decatur, with one brig of 16 guns, "the vicinity of Havana," and Captain Tingley in the "Ganges," "between Cuba and Hispaniola," to give security to the trade of Jamaica.

The expedition was designed "to rid those seas as well of French armed vessels as of the pirates which infest them."

Barry was directed to "proceed as early as possible to Prince Rupert's Bay in the Island of Dominica, where the other vessels" of his command were ordered to rendezvous and he was to "commence operations." Under Barry's command on this expedition were Charles Stewart, Stephen Decatur, Jacob Jones, all of whom became famous in naval annals and obtained the highest positions. Barry's training and discipline developed heroes after his death. When the squadron reached the West Indies, Barry's command consisted of the frigate "United States," the "Constitution," Captain Samuel Nicholson; the "George Washington," Captain Patrick Fletcher; the "Merrimac," Captain Moses Brown; the "Portsmouth," Captain Daniel McNeill; the "Pickering," Master-Com-

mandant Edward Preble; the "Eagle," Lieutenant Hugh George Campbell; the "Herald," Lieutenant Charles Russell; the "Scammel," Lieutenant J. Adams, and the "Diligence," Lieutenant J. Brown. The vessels sailing from Norfolk, Virginia, in company with Barry's frigate the "United States" were the "Constellation," of 36 guns; the "John Adams," the "Congress," the "Little Adams," the "Little York," all of 32 guns; the "Connecticut," the "Boston," the "General Green," of 36 guns; the "Siren" and "Argus," of 16 guns, and the "Enterprise," 14 guns. All ships "must claim your attention as well as your own," directed Secretary Stoddert.

The "Constellation" "cruised for about three months without finding any game," until she captured the "Insurgente," of 50 guns and 700 men of whom 350 were killed or wounded. The "Constellation" met a French, 74, later but the enemy being of superior force the "Constellation" "got out of reach." The next day the "United States" met the same French vessel and after an exchange of a few shots, Captain Barry also thought it advisable to withdraw, as his ship had become "dismasted" and had to go to Bermuda for repairs, while the "Constitution" was "much disabled in her mast and spars." Later Captain Nicholson captured the "Carteret," packet "and took her to St. Pierre" and again chased a French privateer into a harbor near that port.

On February 3d, 1799, the "United States," under Barry, gave chase to a French privateer. A well-aimed 24-pound shot was sufficient to "cut the career of the privateer short," for the ball went through her hull so that she quickly began to fill and settle. Captain Barry ordered the boats of his frigate to the rescue of the crew. Midshipman Stephen Decatur being in the first boat to reach the wreck and rescue the crew. "They were plaintively imploring for help," wrote an eye-witness, "with earnest gesticulations, not only from men but from God and although it is 'true they had abolished all religion they had not, it seemed, forgot the old way of invoking the protection of the Omnipotent.'"

The vessel was the "Amour de la Patrie," of 6 guns and 80 men. All her crew were saved. The "United States" also captured the "Tartufe," of 8 guns and 60 men. Desiring to relieve himself of his prisoners and hoping to make exchange of Americans imprisoned at Guadeloupe, Captain Barry sailed to Basse Terre flying a flag of truce, but was fired on by the French batteries.

Hauling down the flag Barry returned the fire and battered the walls so effectively that the marks of the American shot were visible for many years. The "Merrimac," Captain Moses Brown, captured "Le Bonapart le Phenix," 14 guns, 128 men, and "La Magiciene," 14 guns, 63 men. The "Portsmouth" took "La Bonapart" (No. 2), "Le Bullante," "Le Tripon" and "Le Bon Peré," of 6 guns and 52 men. Seven other captures made by the squadron.

It is not within the scope of this narration to record the operations of the fleet or the exertions of the several commanders of the respective vessels composing it, but much that was creditable to our naval forces was done though little that could be called brilliant or conspicuous, beyond the capture of the "Insurgente" by Truxtun and the "Amour de la Patrie" and "Tartufe" by Barry. The main service of the fleet was in protecting our merchant vessels and convoying them to safe waters.

Commodore Barry was not in good health while on this expedition. This, the Secretary of the Navy, writing to him, 15th March, 1799, chose to "attribute to vexation for not being able to fall in with the French" than to the effects of the climate. He had the "most entire confidence" that when joined by the other vessels Barry would "afford the greatest possible protection to our commerce and punish the depredation on it."

Barry had been joined by the "Constitution," the "Washington" and the "Merrimac" and would later have under his command the "Portsmouth," the "Herald," the "Pickering," the "Diligence," the "Scammel" and the "Eagle." Secretary Stoddert notified him, and also that if his health obliged him to return, Captain Truxtun would take command of the fleet and of the operations.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1799, Captain Barry was at Prince Rupert's Island. The Hibernian Society of Philadelphia for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland were, the same day, at dinner at Shane's Tavern and drank to the toast of

"Commodore Barry and the New Navy."

On April 8, 1799, Captain Barry was at Bridgetown, Barbadoes. For that port he had, as the youthful Captain of the schooner "Barbadoes," sailed from Philadelphia on October 2, 1766, almost a third of a century previous. What thoughts must have moved him we may conjecture at the change in his own circumstances and

in that of the country of his adoption which had taken place. Then, at twenty-one, he was commander of his first vessel, a trading schooner of 60 tons. He had since made effective war upon the enemy of his native land and of his adopted country. He now entered Bridgetown the commander of a squadron of the chief armed vessels of his country. During the War for Independence he had acted in coöperation with French naval forces, now he was protecting the commerce of his country from the depredations of the French and inflicting punishment upon such as câme in his path. He had made war on British naval vessels and taken captive many as well as those of England's merchant marine. Now he and his country were acting in accord with England in opposition to and in restraint of the French.

Friends had become enemies and enemies had become friendly, so much so that a Barbadoes paper, on his arrival there, could declare: "Whatever good fortune attends Commodore Barry will but increase the public esteem which he already possesses, as to see merit rewarded is the generous wish of every British bosom."

What a change!

This praise arose from the fact that Barry meeting the French privateer "Democrat" took from her the British Letter-of-Marque, "Cicero," which had been captured by the "Democrat." The darkness debarred Barry from capturing the "Democrat" also. The "Cicero" was of 450 tons and 50 men. Her Captain and three of the crew had been killed and thirty-six wounded. She had been in possession of the French for thirty-six hours when retaken by the "United States" with the prize crew of thirty taken prisoners. These he left at Guadeloupe in French possession. As there were no American prisoners there Barry thought it better to do so than to have them on the "United States" frigate "to eat more than they were worth."

On April 15, 1799, the Navy Department recalled the "United States," the "Constitution" and the "Washington," "with all possible expedition." The other vessels were left in command of Captain Truxtun. Barry, in the "United States," arrived at New Castle, Delaware, May 9, 1799, and within a month at the opera it was sung that "the gallant Barry" was "by all Columbia's sons adored." He was then in Philadelphia after leaving Lieutenant Charles Stewart in charge of the frigate. Barry was, on 13th May,

directed to discharge the crew whose time expired that or next month, so as to give them "an opportunity of spending their money," that they might the sooner re-enlist for another year. Officers were directed "to open rendezvous for recruiting a crew." In the meantime Captain Truxtun had arrived at Norfolk and was received with "every mark of respect and attention." Captain James Barron was there also, but on June 2d Barry requested his return to Philadelphia as necessity obliged his presence, as the President had directed the Secretary of the Navy to send "us as soon as possible to protect our defenceless coast." Lieutenant Stewart, almost daily, sent reports of the overhauling work going on preparing the frigate for a voyage. The French privateers were active along the coast harassing the merchantmen, and so audacious as even to enter our harbors.

This made "the public mind very uneasy." So on June 29th the frigate sailed under orders to cruise along the coast to Charleston and after remaining there "long enough to let the citizens know" he was "in the vicinity"; he was to "proceed further south, indeed as far as the River St. Mary's," if he could return to Hampton Roads by the middle of July, where the "Constitution," Captain Talbot, would join the "United States," as it was intended to send both to the coasts of France and Spain. This did not come to be, however, as it was found necessary to have the vessels in the West Indies as soon as they could operate there.

Barry received "the President's command" that "taking the 'Constitution' with you, you proceed on a cruise to the Western Isles, to Madeira and Teneriffe and thence returning by Cayenne, Surinam and the Windward Islands, and reaching Guadeloupe about the middle of October where further orders would be handed" him. Then both frigates were to proceed to San Domingo and enter the port of Cape François, so they might be seen by General Touissant with whom and the people he was to "endeavor to cultivate a good understanding." After remaining two or three days there he was to return to New York, leaving Captain Talbot in the "Constitution" at San Domingo to take command of that station. Barry was given leave, however, if time did not permit his going to Madeira and Teneriffe as well as the Western Isles, he might proceed no further than the Western Isles.

"The protection of our commerce is the great object of the naval armament," said the Secretary, but on July 27th he notified

Barry, "the projected enterprise to Europe must be given up," the frigate "United States" had to "remain on our coast for our protection at home." The "Constellation" was to be employed in the same way. Barry was to "proceed from Hampton" southward as far as St. Mary's River and thence back along the coast and take the best chance of falling in with the enemy until about September 10th, when he was to return to New York if the frigate could pass the bar—if not then to proceed to Newport, to which latter he did, where he remained until sailing for France.

"On October 20, 1799, from Newport Harbor, R. I., Captain Barry notified the Hon. Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, that Owen Smith whom he had recommended as a midshipman for frigate 'United States' had, in many instances, 'behaved himself in a manner very unbecoming a gentleman, and as I conceive it my indispensable duty to prevent every person of bad conduct from getting a footing in the infant navy, I have, at his own request, discharged him. Your nephew, Mr. Williamson, has been too tenderly brought up to follow sea life; I think his father had better seek some other mode of life for him.'" (Crimmins' MS.)

The cruise ordered took six weeks, but no record of captures appears. The coast had been protected. That was the end to be obtained—not captures—as a formal declaration of war had not been made by either the United States or France. Though commonly called "the War with France" because of actual hostilities having taken place, officially, war did not exist between the two countries. It is not necessary for our purpose to detail the political course of the two nations with respect to the difficulties between them, but when negotiations had so far progressed that special Commissioners or Ministers were to proceed to France with a view of arranging a treaty, Captain Barry was, on October 16, 1799, notified that "the President has decided that the 'United States' shall carry our envoys to Europe and you will hold yourself in readiness to perform that service by the first of November at the farthest."

The envoys were Chief Justice O. Ellsworth, R. W. Davis, ex-Governor of North Carolina, and W. V. Murray, U. S. Minister at The Hague—"Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic."

Captain Barry had orders to land them at any part of France they preferred and to touch at any ports they desired. Captain

Barry was indeed on an old service. He had carried Colonel John Laurens and Lafayette to France to seek aid for America. Now he carried American envoys to demand justice for American commerce and the cessation of hostile measures against its freedom.

The mission President Adams declared was sent at one of the "most critical, important and interesting moments that ever occurred" in American history. Again was Barry given the old order so often given him during his Revolutionary career: "You will not capture anything on the voyage. This is a mortification to which it is necessary that you should submit. I hope to salute you an Admiral on your arrival at Philadelphia."

Captain Barry performed the duty assigned him and landed the envoys in France. After long negotiations a Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation was agreed to September 30, 1800, with the First Consul Bonaparte. It was ratified by the U. S. Senate February 3, 1801, by the French July 31, 1801, and proclaimed December 31, 1801.

Washington died December 14, 1799. On the 20th Captain Barry received from the Navy Department a General Order of President Adams that all vessels should be "put in mourning one week by wearing their colors at half-mast high." The officers to "wear crape on the left arm below the elbow for six months."

During the year 1800 the "United States" frigate was not in active duty—the trouble with France having ceased, other occasions for her services did not arise. Lieutenant Mullowney was promoted to the command of the "Ganges" and thirty-five of the seamen of the "United States" transferred with him.

On July 16, 1800, Lieutenant Charles Stewart was given command of the "Experiment," Captain Barry expressing the hope that "he will be more active than he was," a hope which was justified in his subsequent career. At this time Barry's vessel was undergoing repairs. He wrote the Secretary, "she will not be out of the carpenter's hands until October." When she was ready for sea, Barry was directed "to proceed to St. Kitts and assume command of your squadron on the Guadeloupe station, taking under your convoy any merchant vessels ready to proceed for the Windward Islands; you have to protect our commerce to all the Islands and to guard our merchant vessels against all depredations from Porto Rico as well as from Guadeloupe and other dependencies of France."

Later the Treaty of September 30, 1800, arrived, when Barry was directed to "treat the armed vessels of France, public and private, exactly as you find they treat our trading vessels."

Up to that time seventy-four French vessels had been taken and more than eighty had been retaken from the French. This was regarded as ample proof of the value of a Navy and made its advocates so jubilant that "What think ye of the Navy now?" was tauntingly asked of its former opponents.

So again Captain Barry's services as Head of the Navy were conspicuous and useful. But the Federalists, the party of Washington, of Adams and of Barry, were defeated by the election by the House of Representatives of Thomas Jefferson.

Reform and Retrenchment were the chief policies of his administration. With the measures against France, Jefferson's Republicans had had no sympathy. Their antipathy to Great Britain and their fury against Jay's Treaty were terrific. The new Congress of Jefferson ordered the cessation of work on the 74-gun ships, for which timber had already been collected. Only a quarter of a million of dollars was appropriated for naval expenditures. All but thirteen of the ships were sold. The new Navy established by the Act of 1794 was, within seven years, almost non-existent and would have been wholly so if the policy of the Jefferson Republicans had been fully carried out. Though that practically came to pass by the "laying up" of all vessels.

Jefferson was inaugurated March 4, 1801. On the 23d of that month Captain Barry was notified to "call home all the ships in the West Indies. You are to make the best of your way to Philadelphia."

At the end of April the frigate "United States" was in the Delaware River and, on May 1st, the new Secretary of the Navy, General Dearborn, instructed Barry to bring the "United States" to Washington, "where it is intended she shall be laid up." There were now Navy yards at Portsmouth, N. H.; Charlestown, Philadelphia, Norfolk and Washington, in accordance with the advice Captain Barry had given in 1798 that such should be established and a Navy Department created.

Captain Barry sailed the frigate to Washington and on May 23d reported his arrival in the Potomac, "though his friends had declared that the President was not aware of the difficulties that would be met in getting the frigate there," as Mrs. Barry wrote the Captain the day he had arrived near Washington.

The first frigate of the New Navy was "laid up"—was at rest—had ceased operations, not because its usefulness was at an end and it might no more be serviceable, nor would there be occasion for her power as a protector of American commerce, but because the political policy of the Party in power did not sanction the possession of a Navy.

So having fulfilled its mission and its commander having obeyed instructions and brought the first born of the new Navy to the new Capital of the new nation he was, on June 6, 1801, notified:

"You have permission to retire to your place of residence and there remain until the government again requires your services."

The frigate "United States" served our country well in the War with France, in the War with Great Britain, 1812-15, and in subsequent duties, warlike and peaceful, until the War between the States, 1861-65, when while laid up "in ordinary" at the Norfolk Navy Yard she was, by the Confederates, sunk to obstruct the channel. After the war she was raised and in January, 1866, broken up, though Commodore Hitchcock endeavored to have her preserved, saying "if her value were only measured by dollars it may be unwise to attempt her preservation, but ideas and sentiments cannot be judged by such a standard. What is the use of being rich and great and powerful if we cannot afford to indulge becoming sentiments and cherish the memory of the bright deeds of our history." But she was broken up. All that remains as visible objects of her are two of her guns on the exhibition grounds of the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, Va.

The Navy was, on June 11, 1801, by President Jefferson, put on "a peace establishment." Of the Captains nine were retained, of Lieutenants thirty-six and of Midshipmen one hundred and fifty. Captain Barry was "one of those retained," he was notified. Half-pay was allowed from July 1, 1801.

Captain Barry's health was now failing. On returning to Philadelphia he was, in November, 1801, engaged in proving guns cast by Mr. Lane. The next year when directed to prove cannon at Colonel Hughes' works near Havre-de-Grace, Maryland, Barry's health did not permit him to go. On August 19, 1802, Barry, Dale and Bainbridge were appointed a Board to examine applicants for admission to the Navy—the Barbary Powers were again giving trouble to our merchant traders and imprisoning American seamen,

and an idea that a more vigorous navy was needed and that paying tribute in money was degrading was gaining headway even among the Republicans. So that on December 22, 1802, the Secretary of the Navy notified Captain Barry, "We shall have occasion to keep a small force in the Mediterranean and we shall expect your services on that station." But the old Warrior-Sailor was nearing another Station. Ill health was enfeebling him, destroying his wonted activity. The flame of the fire of his ardor to serve his country was flickering so much as to remind him that death might be nearing.

So on February 27, 1803, he made his will. During the summer at his country residence at Strawberry Hill in the Northern Liberties he remain incapacitated for any further sea or other services useful to the country, or beneficial to mankind in general. He died September 13, 1803, and was buried from his City home on Chestnut Street below Tenth, south side, then No. 186. He was interred at St. Mary's graveyard the next morning, according to the custom of those days. St. Mary's was the church where Commodore Barry "was a constant attendant when in the City," as Bishop Kenrick wrote Colonel B. U. Campbell, of Ellicott Mills, January 15, 1844. [Balto. Archives, C. D. 14.] His estate amounted to $27,691. He is buried within a few feet of the entrance to the graveyard in the rear of the church. In the grave with him his two wives are interred—Mary died in 1771, Sarah in 1831.

Beside him northward lies his friend Captain John Rosseter, also of the County of Wexford, Ireland.

At the head of his grave to the northward is interred Captain Thomas FitzSimons, a signer of the Constitution of the United States, an officer in the Revolution, a merchant of Philadelphia and Representative in Congress.

Also at the head of Barry's grave, southward, lies the mortal remains of George Meade, a patriot of the Revolution and a merchant of Philadelphia.

This is the most Catholic Irish-American historical plot of ground in the United States.

Three of these patriots were born in Ireland—George Meade, born in Philadelphia of Irish parents.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, wrote the first draft of the epitaph for the tomb of Captain Barry. It read:

Let the Patriot, the Soldier, and the Christian,
Who visit these mansions of the dead,
~~view~~ View this monument with respect.
Beneath it are interred the Remains of

John Barry

He was born in the County of Wexford in Ireland,
But America was the Object of his patriotism,
and the ~~theatre~~ theatre of his Usefulness.

In the revolutionary war which established the
~~independance~~ independance of the United States, he
bore an early and active part, as a Captain in this navy, and
Afterwards became its Commander in Chief. ~~of their or fleet navy~~
He fought often, and once bled in the cause of freedom
this: habits of War; did not lessen his
Virtues as a Man, nor his piety as a Christian

The number, and objects of his Charities will be
known, only at that time, when his dust
Shall be reanimated, and when he who sees in secret,
Shall reward openly.

In a full belief of the Doctrines of the Gospel,
he peacefully resigned his Soul into the Arms of his
Redeemer.
on the 13th of September 1803 in the 59th year of his Age.

His affectionate Widow hath caused this marble to be
erected ~~to~~ to perpetuate his name, after the hearts of
his fellow Citizens have ceased to be
the living Records
of his public, and private Virtues.

B. Rush

He was gentle, kind & just in private life,
and was not ~~the~~ beloved by his family & friends than by
his grateful country.

LET THE PATRIOT, THE SOLDIER AND THE CHRISTIAN
WHO VISITS THESE MANSIONS OF THE DEAD
VIEW THIS MONUMENT WITH RESPECT

BENEATH IT ARE INTERRED THE REMAINS OF

JOHN BARRY

HE WAS BORN IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD IN IRELAND
BUT AMERICA WAS THE OBJECT OF HIS PATRIOTISM
AND THE THEATRE OF HIS USEFULNESS.

IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR WHICH ESTABLISHED THE
INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES HE
BORE AN EARLY AND AN ACTIVE PART AS A CAPTAIN IN THEIR
NAVY AND AFTER BECAME ITS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

HE FOUGHT OFTEN AND ONCE BLED IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

HIS HABITS OF WAR DID NOT LESSEN HIS
VIRTUES AS A MAN NOR HIS PIETY AS A CHRISTIAN.

HE WAS GENTLE, KIND AND JUST IN PRIVATE LIFE,
WAS NOT LESS BELOVED BY HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS THAN BY
HIS GRATEFUL COUNTRY.

THE NUMBER AND OBJECTS OF HIS CHARITIES WILL BE
KNOWN ONLY AT THAT TIME WHEN HIS DUST
SHALL BE REANIMATED AND WHEN HE WHO SEES IN SECRET
SHALL REWARD OPENLY.

IN THE FULL BELIEF IN THE DOCTRINES OF THE GOSPEL
HE PEACEFULLY RESIGNED HIS SOUL INTO THE ARMS OF HIS
REDEEMER
ON THE 13TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1803, IN THE 59TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

HIS AFFECTIONATE WIDOW HATH CAUSED THIS MARBLE TO BE
ERECTED TO PERPETUATE HIS NAME AFTER THE HEARTS OF HIS
FELLOW-CITIZENS HAVE CEASED TO BE
THE LIVING RECORD OF HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUES.

As cut on the tombstone after revision the epitaph was substantially the same. "Interred" was changed to "deposited"; "theatre" was stricken out and "aim" inserted and "honor" added after "usefulness"; "became" was changed to "was"; "Virtues as a Man" was made to read "the power of the virtues which adorn

TOMB OF COMMODORE BARRY, ST. MARY'S GRAVEYARD, PHILADELPHIA

private life"; "charitable" was added after "just" and the sentence relating to the number and objects of his charities stricken out; "in the 59th year of his age" was omitted.

In 1876, the original tomb having fallen into decay, a new tomb—the present one—was erected by contributions of the members of St. Mary's Church. The epitaph having become illegible the compiler of this record supplied a copy of the epitaph as it had been cut on the first stone. But Rev. Wm. F. Martin, the Pastor of the church, had the epitaph cut so as to read, and now may be seen, as follows:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF COMMODORE JOHN BARRY, FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

LET THE CHRISTIAN, PATRIOT AND SOLDIER WHO VISITS THESE MANSIONS OF THE DEAD VIEW THIS MONUMENT WITH RESPECT AND VENERATION.

BENEATH IT RESTS THE REMAINS OF JOHN BARRY, WHO WAS BORN IN THE COUNTY WEXFORD, IRELAND, IN THE YEAR 1745.

AMERICA WAS THE OBJECT OF HIS PATRIOTISM AND THE AIM OF HIS USEFULNESS AND AMBITION.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR HE HELD THE COMMISSION OF CAPTAIN IN THE THEN LIMITED NAVY OF THE COLONIES.

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS IN BATTLE AND HIS RENOWNED NAVAL TACTICS MERITED FOR HIM THE POSITION OF COMMODORE AND TO BE JUSTLY REGARDED AS THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

HE FOUGHT OFTEN AND BLED IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, BUT HIS DEEDS OF VALOR DID NOT DIMINISH IN HIM THE VIRTUES WHICH ADORN HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

HE WAS EMINENTLY GENTLE, KIND, JUST AND CHARITABLE AND NO LESS BELOVED BY HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS THAN BY HIS GRATEFUL COUNTRY.

FIRM IN THE FAITH AND PRACTICES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, HE DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE 13TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER IN THE 59TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE, A FEW OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, MEMBERS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH AND OTHERS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS THIS SECOND MONUMENT, ERECTED JULY 1ST, 1876.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

STATUE OF COMMODORE BARRY, FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA

In the Centennial year, 1876, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, at the foot of George's Hill, a fountain costing $55,000. One of its five statues of heroic size is that of Commodore John Barry. The sides of the base contain inscriptions as follows:

On the east:

JOHN BARRY,
FIRST COMMODORE
OF THE
UNITED STATES NAVY.
BORN IN 1745
IN WEXFORD COUNTY, IRELAND.
DIED SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1803,
AT PHILADELPHIA.

On the west:

DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR HE DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF GREATLY. HE FILLED THE VARIOUS COMMANDS ENTRUSTED TO HIM WITH SKILL AND GALLANTRY. WHEN UNABLE TO FIGHT ON THE OCEAN HE OBTAINED COMMAND OF A COMPANY OF VOLUNTEERS AND FOUGHT AGAINST THE ENEMY ON LAND.

AMONG HIS EXPLOITS WAS THE CAPTURE, UPON MAY 29TH, 1781, OF TWO ENGLISH VESSELS, THE ATALANTA AND TREPASA, AFTER A HOTLY CONTESTED ACTION WITH HIS OWN SHIP, THE ALLIANCE.

On the north:

IN JANUARY, 1776, HE COMMANDED THE BRIG LEXINGTON, THE FIRST REGULAR CRUISER THAT GOT TO SEA UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND THE VESSEL THAT FIRST CARRIED THE AMERICAN FLAG UPON THE OCEAN.

On March 18, 1895, the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland, now the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, pre-

STATUE OF COMMODORE BARRY, INDEPENDENCE SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA

sented the City of Philadelphia a copy, by Colon Campbell Cooper, of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Commodore Barry, to be placed in Independence Hall. Hon. Edwin Stuart, President of the Society and Mayor of the City and now [1908] Governor of Pennsylvania, presided and accepted the portrait on its presentation by General St. Clair Mulholland, who declared Commodore Barry to have been "one of the most illustrious of Ireland's sons, a brilliant child of the wind and waves, a heroic warrior of the sea who never knew defeat, the Father and Founder of the Navy of the United States. The Navy that from the beginning has been the admiration and model of all the nations of the earth."

On March 22, 1902, the torpedo boat destroyer the "Barry" was launched at the Neafie & Levy's shipyard. It was "christened" by Miss Elizabeth Adams Barnes, the great-great-grandniece of Commodore Barry and daughter of Captain John S. Barnes, U. S. Navy, retired, of New York City.

In July, 1902, Hon. M. E. Driscoll, of Syracuse, New York, proposed a Bill in the National House of Representatives appropriating fifty thousand dollars "to erect in Washington a monument inscribed

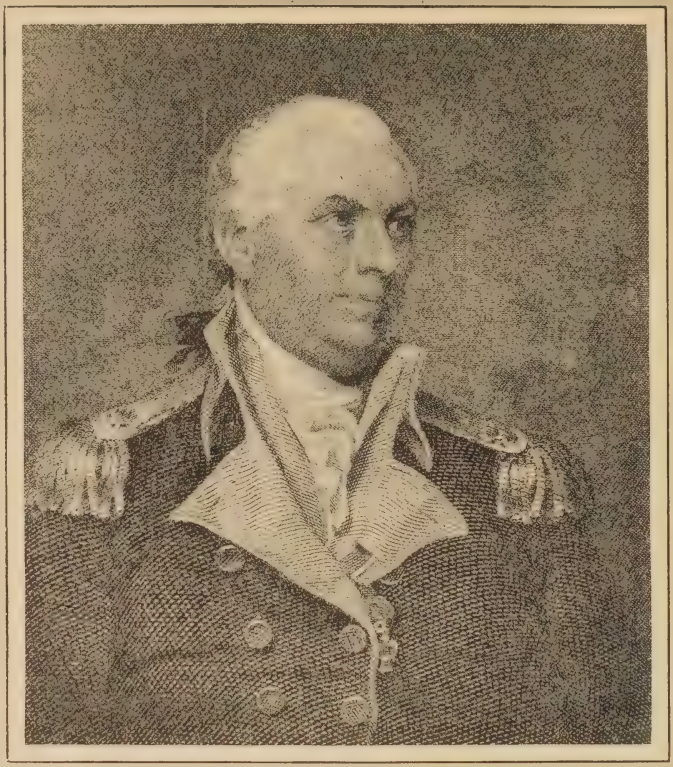
"JOHN BARRY

"THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY."

At that and the next Sessions of Congress the Bill did not, in either Session, pass both Houses, but in the Session of 1906 it passed and was signed by President Roosevelt.

A site near the new Union Depot has been selected and, after the delay, usual in all governmental monumental projects, the monument will stand in a most conspicuous location in the Capital of the Nation.

On March 16, 1907, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia presented to the City of Philadelphia the bronze statue of Commodore Barry which now stands in Independence Square. It cost $10,500: was designed and executed by Samuel Murray, sculptor, of Philadelphia. General St. Clair Mulholland, on behalf of the Committee, presented the statue to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Rear Admiral Melville, U. S. Navy, retired, presented it to the City. It was accepted by Hon. John Weaver, Mayor of the City, who had signed the Bill passed by the City Council, permitting the erection of the statue in the Square.



John Barry

The Catholic Indians

AND

The American Revolution

The Catholic Indians of Maine Faithful to American Liberty and Independence—Agree to give Aid to "Oppose the People of Old England"—Ask for "a Priest that He may Pray with Us to God Almighty"—Massachusetts Seeks the Aid of the Mohawks of Western New York Because the King of England had Established "the Religion of the Pope" in Canada and Might Make Their Children Pray to Images.

The Catholic Indians of Maine and Nova Scotia, the St. Johns, Micmacs, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes, generally spoken of as the Eastern Indians, were an important factor in the events of the Revolutionary War.

Notwithstanding the endeavors of British agents to win these Indians to the side of England, they pledged fidelity to Washington and through all vicissitudes of the Revolution remained faithful. They could have "destroyed or driven away every inhabitant east of the Penobscot."

Williamson's *History of Maine* says: "Had they been against us, and been set on by the British to plunder our towns and settlements, the whole population must have been destroyed. Great credit is due the Indians for their rigid adherence to our cause, although at times the commissary's department was destitute of provisions and clothing for them."

The Provincial Council of Massachusetts undertook to secure the friendship and assistance of these Indians, though a generation previous hostility towards these sons of the forest was murderously manifested and Father Rale slain. Yet these Indians became allies of Washington, pledged fidelity to the cause of the Colonies against England and at the same time, as if in retributive justice for the murder of the saintly Rale, they asked those who had murdered Father Rale for a Priest "that he may pray for us."

Yet with the duplicity which Congress itself had shown in its Addresses to the People of Great Britain and to the Inhabitants of Canada, the councilors of Massachusetts were willing to appeal to Catholic Indians for support and friendship as well as to promise to secure a priest for them were that possible. At the same time they were appealing to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians, under care of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, to unite with the Colonists because England had "established" the Religion of the Pope in Canada.

On April 4, 1775, the Provincial Council of Massachusetts ordered an address to be sent Rev. Kirkland. Samuel Adams wrote him sending an appeal to the Indians under his charge which he was requested to make known to him. In it was said this:

"Brothers, they have made a law to establish the religion of the Pope in Canada which lies so near to you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pray his dues to images made by their own hands." [Am. Ar. 1, 1349.]

On June 24, 1775, Lieutenant Andrew Gilman was instructed to cultivate a peaceful disposition with the Indians at St. Francis. "Great pains were taken to hold the good-will of the tribes living east of the Penobscot," whom it was believed were not "worshipping the true God," but "praying to images made by their own hands."

Yet it was not long before Father de la Motte, a French priest, was sent from Boston to minister to these "image-worshipping Indians" who remained true to "their American brothers," while the Mohawks whose children it was feared might worship images instead of the "only true God" became allies of the British and wrought ruin and desolation throughout the Mohawk Valley and far beyond, until General Sullivan's expedition almost removed every Mohawk from the face of the earth and made the region one scene of devastation. But the Catholic "image-worshipping Indians of the East" who could have destroyed the whole number of white inhabitants of that region, remained loyal to America, saved those who denounced them as image-worshippers and helped to win the Liberty and Independence of our country.

The Provincial Council of Massachusetts, at Watertown, on May 15, 1775, sent a letter to the Eastern Indians telling them of "the great wickedness of such as should be our friends but are our enemies, we mean the ministry of Great Britain, have laid deep plots to take away our liberty and your liberty."

In June Captain John Lane brought four Indians from Penobscot with Andrew Gilman as interpreter who, on June 24th, was appointed a Lieutenant "to promote the common cause of America among our good brethren, the Indians of the several tribes."

Washington wrote to Congress from Cambridge on August 4, 1775:

"On the first instant, a Chief of the Caughnawaga Tribe, who lives six miles from Montreal, came in here, accompanied by a Colonel Bagley, of Cohoes. His account of the temper and disposition of the Indians is very favorable. He says they have been strongly solicited by Governor Carleton to engage against us, but his Nation is totally averse; threats as well as entreaties have been used without effect; that the Canadians are well disposed to the English Colonies, and that if any expedition is meditated against Canada, the Indians in that quarter will give all their assistance. I have endeavored to cherish these favourable dispositions, and have recommended to him to cultivate them on his return; what I have said I had enforced with a present, which I have understood would be agreeable to him; and, as he is represented to be a man of weight and consequence in his own tribe, I flatter myself his visit will have a good effect." [Am. Ar. 4-3, 30.]

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, August 16, 1775, "Benjamin Chadbourne, Esq., brought down a letter from his Excellency, General Washington, respecting an Indian Chief from St. François, who appears as an Ambassador from that Tribe, with the following vote of Council therein, viz: That William Sever and John Winthrop with such as may be joined by the honorable House, be a committee to confer with the Indian Chief and report what they may judge proper to be done thereon."

Mr. Batchelder and Mr. Hopkins were appointed.

The next day the committee appointed to confer with the Indian Chief of the Tribe of St. François reported as follows, viz:

"In Council, August, 17, 1775.

"The committee of both Houses appointed to confer with the Indian Chief of the Tribe of St. François in Canada, now in this town, have attended that service, and beg leave to lay before the honourable Court the following account of the conference they held with him and humbly report, as their opinion, that it is advisable that the four Indians who came down with him should remain at

Cambridge under the direction of his Excellency, General Washington, and that the said Chief with his interpreter, should return with one of our Stockbridge Indians, by way of Ticonderoga to wait upon General Schuyler, where he will have an opportunity of making the tender of his services to him, for which we have no immediate occasion, and that a letter be sent by the said interpreter to General Schuyler, informing him hereof.

"W. SEVER, per order."

Read and concurred, and Mr. Hopkins and Dr. Baylis with such as the honourable Board shall join, be a committee to report a letter to General Schuyler as above.

Sent up for concurrence.

Questions asked the Indians of the St. François Tribe:

Q.—What occasioned your coming this way?

A.—Being informed you were in a state of war with Great Britain, I came to offer you our assistance, if wanted.

Q.—Has the Governour of Canada proposed to you to take up the hatchet against the English?

A.—Yes; frequently.

Q.—Has the Governour sent any agents among you for that purpose?

A.—Yes; two persons who offered us presents. Only four or five of our young men went to Quebec, and took blankets.

Q.—Why did you refuse to comply with the proposal of Governour Carleton?

A.—As our ancestors gave this country to you we would not have you destroyed by England, but are ready to afford you our assistance.

Q.—If Governour Carleton should know you offered us your assistance, are you not afraid he would destroy you?

A.—We are not afraid of it. He has threatened us; but if he attacks us, we have arms to defend ourselves.

Q.—Would your Tribe in general be disposed to assist us?

A.—We sometime ago made peace with General Johnson, and buried the hatchet, but are now in general ready to take it up again in your behalf.

Q.—Do you know whether any of the Tribes near you are disposed to afford us assistance, if wanted?

A.—There are five Tribes that are of one heart and ready to assist you.

Q.—How many men are there in the five Tribes fit to bear arms?

A.—About two thousand young men; and more if wanted.

Q.—When was you at Montreal?

A.—This spring.

Q.—Had any number of your and the other Tribes a meeting with Governour Carleton?

A.—Some from the St. François and five other Tribes.

Q.—Where did you meet the Governour?

A.—We had two meetings, one at Montreal the other at Quebec.

Q.—Do you know of any meeting of your Tribes with French officers at Oso?

A.—There was a meeting but they took nothing.

Q.—Do you know whether any Tribe has agreed to take arms against us?

A.—All the Tribes agreed to afford you assistance if wanted.

Q.—Do you know the disposition of the Tribes far West or Northwest?

A.—I don't know, they are afar off.

Q.—Have any Tribes joined General Johnson?

A.—No.

Q.—Are your Tribe in alliance with the Indians?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have you a French Priest in your Tribe?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Has he given you any advice with regard to the dispute?

A.—Our Priest is no warriour, and does not concern himself about it.

Q.—What is the disposition of the Canadians as to taking arms?

A.—They are afraid, and are not disposed to take arms.

Q.—How do you like the military appearance near Boston?

A.—Very well.

Q.—Should General Schuyler proceed into Canada to take Montreal and Quebec, would you assist him?

A.—Yes; heartily.

Ordered, That the Indian Chief from St. François have a good blanket presented him, and that Colonel Otis, Captain Batchel-

der and Mr. Hopkins be a committee to procure and present the same and lay their accounts before this House.

Ordered, That Mr. Hopkins and Dr. Baylis with such as the honourable Board shall join, be directed to write a letter to General Schuyler, at Ticonderoga, in behalf of the Indian Chief from St. François. [Am. Ar. 4-3.]

General Schuyler writing from Albany on August 27, 1775, to General Washington at Cambridge, said:

"That Governor Carleton and his agents are exerting themselves to procure the savages to act against us, I have reason to believe, from the various accounts which I have received; but I do not believe he will have any success with the Canada Tribes, though I make no doubt but he is joined by some of the more remote Indians, who I believe will assist him, and who have already served him as scouts from St. John. I should, therefore, not hesitate one moment to employ any Indians that might be willing to join us." [Am. Ar. 4-3, 442.]

On October 9th, the following was presented the Provincial Council of Massachusetts:

To the Honoble The Council, &c.

Ambroice and Peire Toma two of the Heads of the St. John's Tribe of Indians came in here to day and desired me to write you the following Letter from their own mouths and forward it to you by the first opportunity and to request an Answer from you.

I am, Gentlemen, Your Most Obedient, Humble Servant,

JONA LOWDER.

Penobscot Falls, Sept. 12th, 1775.

AT THE TRUCKHOUSE, PENOBSCOT FALLS,
Sept. 12th, 1775.

Capt. Thomas Fletcher & Lieut. Andrew Gillman, Interpreters present.

We Ambroise & Piere Toma the Heads of ye St. John's Tribe and in behalf of said Tribe and the Micamac Tribe.

We salute the Chiefs of the Colony of ye Massachusetts and wish you health and that God would prosper you in your present war with Great Britain. We have talked with the Penobscot Tribe and by them we hear you are engaged in a war with Great Britain & that they are engaged to join with you in opposing your Enemies.

We heartily join with our brethren the Penobscot Indians in everything that they have or shall agree with our Brethren of the Colony of Massachusetts and are resolved to stand together & oppose the People of Old England that are endeavoring to take yours and our Lands and Liberties from us.

We are brethren of one father & one God made us all & we will stand by you as long as the Almighty will give us strength & we hope you will do the same for us.

We have nowhere to look to for assistance but to you & we desire that you would help us to a Priest that he may pray with us to God Almighty.

We have no place to go to but to Penobscot for support & we desire you would provide Ammunition, Provisions & Goods for us there and we will come in there, & give you our fur & skin, & take our support from you in return and will be thankful to you for the kindness.

Brothers, We pray God to Bless you & Prosper you & strength & Lengthen this New Chain with us.

Presented to the Council Octo. 9th, 1775.

[Kidder's *Rev. Oper. in Maine,* p. 55.]

[The Micmacs deserve the credit of being the first amongst whom the Cross was planted. Jacques Cartier, in the Summer of 1634, went to Gaspe Bay. There he planted the Cross amongst the Micmacs and secured North America to Christianity.]

St. John's River Indians. "The Indians of this river are said to have been numerous and powerful. This river was called St. John by the French because they entered it on the festival of this Saint but it was called *Onigundi* by its inhabitants and *Ulasteku* by the Etchemins and Abnakis. The opinion of those who assert that the aborigines of St. John River were numerous and powerful must be incorrect. We have no monuments to support it."—[Vetromile's *Abnakis and their History,* p. 56.]

The Micmacs were a large and powerful nation occupying the present Nova Scotia, the Atlantic coast of New Brunswick, the southern shores of the mouth of the great St. Lawrence, the islands on the gulf of the same river as far east as Newfoundland. They were valiant and powerful and numbered several thousands.—[*Ibid,* p. 57.]

The Council, on October 12, 1775,

Ordered, That a message go to the honorable Board, for the Report of the Committee relative to the two Chiefs of the St. John's Tribe.

Eldad Taylor, Esq., brought it down accordingly. The Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Letter from the two Chiefs of the St. John's Tribe of Indians was read and committed to Captain Batchelder, Colonel Williams and Mr. Rice.

A petition of Andrew Gilman, praying a recompense for his services in cultivating a friendly disposition in the Indians, was read and committed to Captain Batchelder, Colonel Williams and Mr. Rice. The next day it was

Resolved, That Mr. Stephen Rice be, and he hereby is, directed to purchase two blankets and two pieces of ribbon and deliver them, with sixteen shillings in cash, as a present to Ambroise and Pierre Toma, two Indian Chiefs, one of whom represents the St. John's and the other the Micmac Tribe of Indians, and lay his account before this House for allowance. [Amer. Arch. 4-3, p. 1463.]

On October 16th the Council further

Resolved, That the Receiver-General be, and hereby is, directed to pay to Lieutenant Andrew Gilman out of the public Treasury of this Colony, twenty-two pounds for his expenses for Mr. Jedediah Preble, Truckmaster, two Indians and himself, from the Truck House at Penobscot to Watertown and thence back to Penobscot again. Also, twelve pounds, fourteen shillings and eleven pence, for his billeting and expenses amongst the Indians until this date and thirteen pounds, twelve shillings and six pence for services done till this day; the whole amounting to forty-eight pounds, seven shillings and five pence: said Gilman to be accountable to this Court for the said sum.

N.B.—The two Indians referred to as above are Ambroise and Pierre Toma who represent the St. John's and the Micmac Tribes of Indians.

Resolved, That the following letter be sent to the Chiefs of the St. John's and the Micmac Tribes of Indians:

Friends and Good Brothers: We received your letter dated at the Truck House at Penobscot Falls, the twelfth day of September, 1775. We take this opportunity to write to you an answer. We

salute you, and wish you the best of Heaven's blessings—health, peace, and prosperity. We heartily receive you as our brethren in the same manner as we have received our brethren of the Penobscot Tribe. We will do everything for you that we have promised to do for them. We shall be always ready to help you and stand firm together with you in opposing the wicked people of Old England, who are fighting against us, and who are seeking to take your and our lands and liberties from us and who are seeking to make us their servants; and we have good reason to believe that we shall soon drive them out of our land.

We are thirteen Colonies of white people, who have joined in a long chain and almost as many Tribes of our brethren, the Indians, who have very much lengthened and strengthened our chain; it is now so long and so strong that (if we don't break it ourselves) those wicked people of Old England will never be able to break it. We are willing you should have a Priest of your own, and worship as you choose; for our great dependence and trust is on Almighty God (who made you and us) for protection and defence.

According to your desire, we have sent to our Truckmaster, at Penobscot, money to purchase ammunition, provisions and goods as we think will be sufficient to supply you this winter. We have told our Truckmaster to supply you and take your skins and furs in payment. Thus we have cheerfully complied with your requests and shall be always ready to hear your requests or complaints, and we trust you will help us in our present war with the wicked people of Old England if we send for you.

We pray God to bless you and keep you out of the hands of all your and our enemies, and that you may make a part of our long chain of brothers, as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

In Council, October 16, 1775. Read and concurred. [Amer. Arch. 4-3, p. 1465-1466.]

On August 8, 1776, from New York, Washington wrote Congress: "I have the treaty at large between the honorable Council of Massachusetts on behalf of the United States with the delegates of St. John and Micmac Tribes." [Writings, IV, 380.]

The Provincial Council, in response to the request to provide ammunition and provisions, "recommended our good brothers, the Indians of the Penobscot Tribe, to apply to General Preble and Colonel Freeman for supplies, who would receive their furs and skins in payment."

On November 10, 1775, Colonel Stephen Moylan, secretary to Washington, by his direction wrote Chairman Wentworth, of the Committee of Safety of Newburyport, that as the Penobscot Indians needed powder and if we did not supply them they would apply to the enemy who would be glad of the opportunity of making friends with them. Washington directed that two barrels of the stock of the Committee be given Captain Preble who had come after the powder. Washington would replace if the Legislature of the province did not do so. [Am. Ar. 4-3, 1429.]

These Penobscot Indians supplied warriors to Washington's army. On July 11, 1776, Washington wrote the General Court of Massachusetts that Congress had empowered him to call to our aid the St. John, Nova Scotia and Penobscot Indians. He desired that five or six hundred be engaged and sent to the army in New York. [Sparks Writings, Washington, III, 460.]

On January 8, 1777, Congress paid Roger Sherman $48.30 advanced by him to Andrew Gilman for expenses of the Penobscot Indians who joined General Washington.

Arnold, in his expedition to Canada in 1775, had the assistance of Indians. When Arnold, on November 4, 1775, had arrived at Sertigan, Canada, the famishing army were, for the first time, supplied with provisions, the lack of which had caused many of his men to die of starvation.

"Here they found Natanis, Sabatis and seventeen other Indians of their family. They were Abenaqui Indians; they marched with the army, and fought against the British. From this place two Indians were sent back to the fall of the Chaudiere to bring down Lieutenant McCleland, of Hendrick's Company, who had been left there sick. In three days they returned with him, but he died the next day and was decently buried." [*Me. His. Col.* VII.]

On December 2, 1775, Congress *Resolved,* That the Indians of St. François, Penobscot, Stockbridge and St. John's and other tribes be called on in case of real necessity, and that the giving them presents is both suitable and proper.

THE MICMAC INDIANS AND WASHINGTON—THEY "ADORE HIM AS A SAINT" AND DEPOSE A CHIEF WHO "SPOKE DISRESPECTFULLY OF HIM."

Colonel John Allan's Report.

To the Council Board of Massachusetts:

Boston, November 21, 1776.

[The Micmac Indians were mainly neutral through the Revolution; their admiration for "General Washington's character was almost universal."]

Allan's report said:

In June [1776] three Chiefs came to my house one morning who acquainted me they had come to converse on the state of affairs and consult what method was best to take, presenting me at the same time a letter from General Washington. . . . I took from them General Washington's letter to keep till they came back, they also delivered me a letter from one Carte at Merimacche to Colonel Gorham [British agent], which I opened and mentioning to them of Mr. Washington's letter and something of their situation they snatched it out of my hands and burnt it. . . .

Next morning we conversed pretty largely on matters, they said that General Washington's letter had given universal satisfaction, they adored him as a Saint for the reason that though he was harassed with war himself, still he tells us (say they) "to be at peace and if we want help he will grant it and defenders, that for this their incessant prayers were for his success." They further told me they had turned out one of their Chiefs because he had spoken disrespectfully of General Washington. . . . But say they, "We do not comprehend what all this quarreling is about. How comes it that Old England and New should quarrel and come to blows? The Father and Son to fight is terrible. Old France and Canada did not do so, we cannot think of fighting till we know who is right and who is wrong."

THE EASTERN INDIANS SEND CHIEFS TO WASHINGTON AND PROMISE "TO COME AND HELP THE NEW ENGLAND PEOPLE."—AS "GOD IS ON THEIR SIDE."

When Washington was besieging the British in Boston, January, 1776, a delegation of the St. John and the Passamaquoddy Indians waited on him. One Chief made this "Talk":

THE TALK OF SUNDRY SACHEMS & WARRIORS OF THE COGNAWGA NATION WITH HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON ON THE 31ST JANY, 1776.

Jean Baptist or Ogaghsagighle, the Chief, present.

We were sent by the Five tribes of Canada Indians, consisting of the Coghnawaga, &c., to see General Schuyler at Albany and then to come to you, to Inquire into the cause of the Quarrel between the people of England and Our Brethren in this Country.

This is a treaty of peace entered into between General Schuyler, &c., and our people and we shall be very glad If you will put your name to It, and certify that you like It and the promise mentioned In It—This being done,

We are very glad that a firm peace is now made between us and our Brothers—we now look upon ourselves to be free and like our brothers of New England. The rest of our people stayed at Home to take care of our Castle and public concerns, and sent us to do this work, which they will abide by and hold as strong as If they had been All here.

I am now in my own Country where I was born [being a New Englander and taken prisoner in his Infancy] and want liberty to raise men to fight for Its defence. We wish that you would give us a Letter to General Schuyler and Inform him that If he wants men, to call upon us and we will join him.

Another of the Chiefs:

St. Luc Lacorne is a very bad man and we shall be very glad If he was sent from Canada; he is always making mischief there.

The Passamaquoddy Chief gave this "Talk":

A Talk of One of the St. John's Tribe attended by two of the Pasmiquoddi Indians with his Excellency Gen'l Washington, Jan'y 31, 1776.

We are very glad to see you and that we have met our Coghnawaga Friends here.

The English people are mad and very cross and want us to fight against the New England people.

God is on the side of our Brothers and they will beat them.

There is a providence in our meeting our Cognawaga Friends at this Time, who have come so far from Canada.

We want to go Home quick to tell our Friends what we have seen and done here, and next Spring many of our Nation will come and help the New England People.

We are in much want of Powder to Hunt with—the Old English people will not let us have any, Unless we will fight against our Brothers & Countrymen.

[Washington Papers, Library of Congress, folio 2563.]

By Major Shaw, Washington wrote both tribes, sending " chains of friendship," which he hoped they would keep " bright and unbroken."

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS SEEKS AID OF THE INDIANS—THE EASTERN INDIANS SEND A "TALK" TO WASHINGTON WHICH "MADE HIS MIND EASY" —HE TELLS THEM "NEVER TURN YOUR HEARTS AGAINST ME."

The Continental Congress, too, considered the alliance of the Indians with the Colonists as important to secure.

On March 8, 1776, Congress *Resolved,* That Indians be not employed as soldiers of the United Colonies, before the tribes to which they belong shall, in a national council, held in the customary manner, have consented thereto, nor then, without express approbation of Congress.

So on June 6, 1776, Congress *Resolved,* That the Standing Committee for Indian Affairs be directed to devise ways and means for carrying into effect the resolution of 3d, empowering the General to employ in Canada a number of Indians not exceeding two thousand.

June 17, 1776: That General Washington be permitted to employ the Indians whom he may take into the service of the United States pursuant to a resolution of Congress of the 25th of May last, in any place where he shall judge they will be most useful; and that he be authorized to offer them a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the King's troops that they shall take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of these colonies.

On July 8, 1776, Congress *Resolved,* That General Washington have permission to "call forth and engage in the service of the United States, so many Indians of the St. John's, Nova Scotia and Penobscot tribes, as he shall judge necessary, and that he be desired to write to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay, requesting their aid in this business, and informing them that Congress will reimburse such expenses as may be necessarily incurred in consequence of the foregoing resolutions."

Though Washington forced the evacuation of Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1776, and, later, brought his army to New York, disaster and gloom, aye, almost despondency came on the battlers for Liberty. Backward and backward retreated Washington to the banks of the Delaware.

Here he was waited on by Colonel John Allan who brought a deputation of the Eastern Indians, who presented him this "Talk," which these Indians had sent:

FRIENDS, BROTHERS AND COUNTRYMEN:

In the Spring of the year we received with Joy and Gladness a very kind letter from our Friend and Brother His Ex'l George Washington.

What he said therein gave us great satisfaction and Determined we were to Continue in that Friendship, with the same faith as he professed towards us and to keep the chains bright for ever.

A few days ago an alarm was spread among us that another paper was come, to require us to take up the hatchet. We met therefore and found that some of our young men had been with you in the character of Chiefs and made a Treaty to go to War Contrary to our Desire and as we understand from them was not rightly understood.

Our situation and circumstances being such at present, our natural inclination being Peace, only accustomed to hunt for subsistence of our family, we could not comply with the terms. Our numbers not being sufficient among other Objections. And as it was not done by our authority and Consent of the Difft. Tribes we are necessitated to return it.

Still depending upon the promise of our Brother Washington and relying upon the friendship of all our Brothers and friends your way we hope and Trust no offence in sending it back.

And Protesting at the same time that the Chain of Friendship is still Subsisting among us on our side & that we hope for Ever. A further Account of our Situation will in our name be delivered our brother and Countrymen by John Allan, Esq., Bearer of this— Our Love and Friendship be with you all. We are,

Your Friends and Brothers,

Coquen, Sept. 19th, 1776.

Signed by Eight Chiefs with their Marks.

On December 24, 1776, from the Pennsylvania banks of the Delaware while making the final disposal of his scanty forces for the attack on the Hessians the following night, Washington signed the following letter to the Indians on the St. John and Passamaquoddy Rivers.

To the Letter of the Passamaquody Indians, Washington sent this reply:

Brothers of Passamaquody: I am glad to hear by Major Shaw, that you accepted the chain of Friendship which I sent you last February from Cambridge, & that you are determined to keep it bright and unbroken.

When I first heard that you refused to send any of your warriors to my assistance when called upon by our brothers of St. John, I did not know what to think. I was afraid that some enemy had turned your hearts against me. But I am since informed that all your young men were employed in hunting, which was the reason of their not coming. This has made my mind easy and I hope you will always in future join with your brothers of St. John and Penobscot when required. I have desired my brother the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to pay you the money which Captain Smith promised for sending my letters to the Micmack Indians.

Brothers: I have a piece of news to tell you which I hope you will attend to. Our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavored to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South Carolina, against us. But our brethern of the six Nations & their allies the Shawanese & Delaware would not hearken to the advice of his Messengers sent among them, but kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain. The Cherokees & the Southern tribes were foolish enough to listen to them and take up the hatchet against us. Upon this our Warriors went into their country, burnt their houses, destroyed their corn and obliged them to sue for peace and give hostages for their future good behavior.

Now Brethern never let the King's wicked counsellor turn your hearts against me and your brethern of this country, but bear in mind what I told you last February, & what I tell you now. In token of my friendship, &c.

[Kidder's *Revolutionary Operations in Maine,* p. 59, and 299.]

This letter to the Passamaquody Tribe was in their possession as late as 1867.

To the St. John's River Indians he wrote:

Brothers of the St. John's Tribe:

It gave me great Pleasure to hear by Major Shaw, that you Kept the chain of Friendship, which I sent you in February last from Cambridge, bright & unbroken.

I am glad to hear that you have made a Treaty of peace with your Brothers and neighbors of the Massachusetts Bay, who have agreeable to your desire established a Truck House at St. John's, out of which they will furnish you with everything you want and take your Furs in Return ——

My good Friend & Brother, Govr. Pierre Tommar and the Warriors that came with him, shall be taken good care of, and when they want to return home, they and our Brothers of Penobscot shall be furnished with every thing necessary for their journey ——

Brothers, I have one thing more to say to you, our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavored to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South Carolina against us.

But our Brethern of the Six Nations and their Allies the Shawnese and Delawares would not listen to their advice but kept fast hold of our ancient Covenant Chain. The Cherokees and the Southern Tribes were foolish enough to hearken to them and to take up the hatchet against us, upon which our Warriors went into their Country, burnt their Houses, destroyed their corn and obliged them to sue for peace and give Hostages for their future good behavior.

Never let the King's wicked Counselors turn your hearts against me and your Brethern of this Country, but bear in mind what I told you last February and what I tell you now.

In token of my Friendship for you I send you this from my Army on the Banks of the Great River Delaware this 24th day of December, 1776.

G. WASHINGTON.

These letters were given Col. John Allan, then with Washington, who had just come from among the Indians. He was a Scotchman who, in Nova Scotia, in 1775, resolved, in the struggles of the Colonies that year begun, to give his support to the Revolting Americans. He came to Boston in 1776. From thence he proceeded to Washington's army and from thence to Congress then sitting at Baltimore. He was, January 4, 1777, appointed Superintendent of Eastern Indians and Colonel of Infantry. He returned Eastward and, to use his own account: "In May, 1777, I arrived on the River St. John's, where a number of Indians were collected. We soon had a general meeting composed of deputies from different

parts, including the whole tribes of St. John and Passamaquody. It was agreed and concluded that Peace & Friendship be now Established permanent & Lasting between the United States & the Several Tribes, that such of them as were in the vicinity of the States should immediately withdraw and assist in the defence of the country which lay within the jurisdiction of the United States. That they should enjoy the free exercise of religion agreeable to their profession, a clergyman of that denomination be furnished and a suitable residence be provided for him, on which a place of worship was to be erected."

Fifty years had wrought its changes; and the same body that offered a reward for the scalp of a Jesuit missionary [Fr. Rale] on the Kennebec and finally compassed his death, was now anxious to give the Indians of those parts a Catholic priest. [Shea's *His.,* II, p. 154.]

Col. Allan relates that at this time British Agents were "using every Stratagem & Art to gain them and make me a prisoner"—yet "they in a body to the number of 128 canoes containing near Five Hundred men, women and children, left the River with me at the end of Ten days. They left their little plantations well improved and a good prospect, with a great part of their clothing & after 28 days journey arrived at Machias, suffering many hardships & difficulties by the excessive heats and the lowness of the Stream which greatly obstructed the canoes."

That was the response of these Catholic Indians to the letters of Washington.

"Their zeal and attention during the war, is so well known in that country that it needs no comment," wrote Allan in 1778. [Kidder's *Rev. in East. Maine,* p. 313.]

The agreement to "furnish" a priest seems to have been impossible to carry out until, in 1779, Rev. de la Motte, a French priest, was, by Col. Allan, sent. On July 18th, 1779, Father de la Motte was at Machias on his way to Passamaquody Bay. "His behavior and conduct has given me much satisfaction. He is indefatigable in the business," reported Allan.

When the French fleet arrived at Newport, R. I., August, 1780, James Avery, Secretary of Col. Allan, applied to Admiral Tourney for a priest for these Indians. "He could not return a positive answer until the day after I left Rhode Island, which he was to do

to Gen. Heath but from what he said I have every reason to think one will be granted," reported Avery from Boston, August, 1780.

After the Revolution "no notice was taken of them."

The St. John River Indians "suffered much" and felt the resentment of the Loyalists (who had removed there from New York and other Provinces) for their attachment and assistance to the U. S., and for near two years wandered about from place to place, disquieted and unsettled. "They repeatedly applied to me" said Allan "for a settlement and to procure a clergyman if nothing else could be done." [*Ibid*, p. 314.]

Colonel Allan, the Agent of Congress, was well treated by the Indians and was initiated into the Marecheet Tribe. On June 6, 1777, on his arrival among them he was given the priest's house to live in during his stay. The American flag which had been given to the Indians of St. John by Mr. Colson was hoisted. That must have been the Union flag adopted by Washington and raised by him on January 1, 1776, at Cambridge. The present Stars and Stripes was not adopted by Congress until June 14, 1777.

On June 7th Mr. Allan was sent for and brought to the wigwam of the young Chief Pier Toma where the chief's young men were gathered together.

Captain Nicholas, at the desire of the rest of the chiefs and young men, rose and addressed Mr. Allan, welcoming him to the place, looking upon him as their countryman, who was obliged to flee on account of the cause between Britain and America. Their esteem and friendship was now heightened by his appointment from the Congress as Agent under the command of General Washington, whose name they held sacred.

They then initiated him into the Marecheet Tribe. Pierre Tomma, the Chief, then arose when a respectable awe seemed to take place over the countenances of all present. He then harangues them all upon the connection between the States and the Marasheet Tribe, repeating often the name of George Washington.

[Kidder's *Rev. Oper.*, p. 96.]

June 8th. Early Sunday morning, fired one gun and hoisted the States' colors. [P. 97.]

On June 23d the Indians had a grand solemn feast to treat Mr. Allan and the strange Indians, one of whom was named Washington.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO COLONEL JOHN ALLAN, AGENT OF THE CATHOLIC INDIANS OF ST. JOHN'S RIVER AND NOVA SCOTIA, WHO WERE "STEADFAST FRIENDS" OF THE AMERICANS.

In Congress, Wednesday, January 15, 1777.

The committee appointed to prepare instructions to Mr. J. Allan, agent for Indian affairs in the eastern department, brought in a draught which was read and being amended was agreed to, as follows:

SIR: Having been informed of your knowledge of, and acquaintance with the tribes of Indians, inhabitants of St. John's and Nova Scotia, and confiding in your zealous attachments to the interest of the United States, this Congress have made choice of you to be their agent, empowering you in their behalf, to treat with those Indians, and as far as you shall be able, to engage their friendship, and prevent their taking part on the side of Great Britain in the unjust and cruel war against these United States;

You will explain to them, as clearly as their understanding of the nature and principles of civil government will admit, the grounds of the dispute between Great Britain and America, the pains that we have taken to settle those disputes on the rules of equity, and the necessity we were finally driven to, in defence of our liberty and lives, to resist our oppressors unto blood. Thus by convincing them of the justice of our cause, you may attach them to our interests, and lay a solid foundation for lasting peace and friendship with us;

You will also inform them of the union that subsists among the people of these states, and the strength derived therefrom to each of them; that viewing us in this light, they may see their own safety depending upon their peaceable disposition and behavior toward us;

You are to cultivate trade with them, by which means many great advantages which have heretofore thence accrued to the subjects of Great Britain, will be gained by the people of these states;

And you are in a particular manner instructed to use your utmost diligence and influence to promote an intercourse and correspondence between those tribes and the Indians living in and about Canada, by the effecting of which, the most useful and necessary intelligence may be frequently obtained; and you are to give the earliest notice to Congress, and to General Washington, and the commanding officer at Ticonderoga, of such intelligence as you may receive;

You will as often as you shall be required, exhibit to Congress a fair account of the expenditures of such monies as you may be intrusted with for the purpose of your agency; together with the general state of affairs within your department, that Congress may avail themselves of it for the public good.

Resolved, That the sum of 900 dollars be annually allowed and paid J. Allan, esquire, during his continuance as agent of this Congress to the Indians of St. John's and Nova Scotia;

That 1000 dollars be advanced to John Allan, esquire, agent, &c., to enable him to carry on the affairs of his agency among the Indians of St. John's and Nova Scotia; he to be accountable for the same. [*Journal of Congress,* 1777, p. 22.]

From Colonel Allan's Journal these entries of Catholic interest are extracted:

1777.

JUNE 19TH.—After a long sickness died Portuis' daughter. . . . The funeral rite tho' short, very solemn. The corpse was carried to the chapel, the bell tolling all the time. After a short prayer they sung funeral hymns; that done some of the chiefs bore the coffin to the grave, then another prayer, then a funeral hymn, which concluded, the coffin was deposited in the grave and covered.

JUNE 26TH.—Receive intelligence that all the people of Cobequid, N. S., were to remove about the Popish Priest. [These were probably Acadians.]

JULY 13TH.—It is incredible what difficulties the Indians undergo in these troublesome times, where so many families are obliged to fly with precipitation rather than become friends to the Tyrant of Britain, some backing their aged parents, others their maimed and decrepid brethren. The old women leading the young children. Mothers carrying their infants, together with great loads of luggage. As to the canoes the men make it a play to convey them across.

JULY 28TH.—In a conversation with Joseph Tomma, I found that the French Priests (advocates for Britain) had debarred the Indian from marrying—would not authorize any father to perform the ceremony, nor yet do it themselves, also told them if they offered to do such an act, the person officiating would be prosecuted in Halifax by the government; such power and ascendency have these miscreants over these poor people.

AUGUST 26TH.—The Indians continue steadfast friends, made earnest entreaties for a Priest to be sent them as soon as may be.

Colonel John Allan from Machias, July 12, 1780, reported:

"On the 30th, I set off for Passamaquody with Col. Campbell. . . . On 31st, as we were assembling for a Conference Three Indians arrived express from Mr. Bush, the Priest desiring them to attend immediately on business of the Church. . . . A conference held the best of two days, they came to a Determination to see the Priest at all events, but Declared their Zeal for America, their friendship and affection for me, that they would have no concern with the British whatever; only meant to see the Priest, their Souls being heavy & Loaded Burthens of Sins, that they acted on a Duty commanded in their church which they could not neglect. . . . I used every method in my Power to divert their Intentions but all in Vain, go they would. But make the most Sacred Protestation to be back in Three Weeks. According all but about 100 Including Women & Children set off on 3d inst." [Kidder's p. 279.]

COLONEL JOHN ALLAN.

Samuel Adams, writing from Boston on May 2, 1783, to General Horatio Gates, said: "Our friend Colo. John Allan takes care of this letter and will deliver it to you. The war being finished, he is going to Philadelphia to receive such directions as Congress shall think proper to give him. You remember he was appointed, in '77, Agent of the St. John's and Nova Scotia Indians, and he has since commanded an Artillery Company raised by this State for the defence of the post at Machias, adopted by Congress in February, '81, and cloath'd, subsisted & paid as other officers & soldiers of the United States. He has, I doubt not, executed the Trusts reposed in him with fidelity and I think is entitled to the emoluments given officers of his rank." [*Am. His. Mag.*, Nov., 1907, p. 511.]

HOLKER, AGENT AND CONSUL OF FRANCE, PROMISES THE EASTERN INDIANS THE KING WILL SEND A PRIEST—FATHER DE LA MOTTE IS SENT—HIS LETTER TO THE INDIANS.

BOSTON, November 17, 1778.

DEAR BRETHREN: I send you several copies of the Declaration made in Boston harbor by the Count D'Estaing, in the name of your father, the King of France. His Majesty promises his protection and his support to all the old Frenchmen his subjects and to all who are willing to renounce the supremacy of the English government and become or remain friends of the General Congress of the United States. The Count was sent here for that purpose with 12 vessels of the line and 11,000 warriors as also to protect all the friends and allies of the King.

MY BRETHREN, believe me to be much grieved at not being able to send you a priest; but console yourselves with the fact that I have written to the King and have begged one of him as well as of Mr. Gérard, his Minister Plenipotentiary at the Congress. I have no doubt but that the King shall send you one, he loves you too much to refuse this. In the meantime love Jesus Christ with all your heart and rest at peace.

Do not implicitly trust the English Governors, for they only seek to attract you in order to drag you with them in their own ruin. I am your affectionate Brother,

HOLKER.

General Agent of the French Navy and Consul of France.

To Ambroise St. Aubin, Noel Pré, Nicholas Hawawas and other Savages. (Pres Machias.)

To Ambroise St. Aubin, Noel Pré, Nicholas Hawawas and other Savages of the river St. John.

The Declaration made in Boston was "A Declaration Addressed in the Name of the King of France to all the Ancient French of North America." It was issued by Count D'Estaing, Commandant of the French fleet and was printed at the "office of F. P. Demauge, on board of the 'Languedoc,' Boston Harbor, October 28, 1778."

It may be found in *The Annual Register of London,* 1779,

p. 357; in the *New York Colonial Documents,* X, pp. 1165-7, and in Vol. I, *Catholics and the Revolution.*

It was not until the following May that a Priest could be sent. Then Rev. Henry de la Motte, an Augustinian, went to them. He was on a French vessel captured by the British and brought to New York and was there held. It is related that he was imprisoned for saying Mass contrary to the order of the British authorities. When released he went to Boston, being entertained by Mrs. Lawrence, of Providence, Rhode Island, on his way there. [Shea's *Carroll,* 181.]

On arrival at Boston, May, 1779, De Valnais, then the French Consul, engaged him to go to the Passamaquoddy Indians.

Father de la Motte, thereupon, sent the following letter to announce his coming:

LETTER OF FATHER DE LA MOTTE TO THE PASSAMAQUODY INDIANS.

[TRANSLATED.]

To our Dear Children, the Savages, Living at Passamaquodd.

DEAR CHILDREN: Knowing that for a very long time you sigh and ask with the strongest ardor for a priest to instruct you with regard to your eternal salvation and to bring you back in the path of the Lord, I cannot, my dear children, but congratulate you upon such pious sentiments and such Christian and holy views to obtain the benediction of Almighty on all your undertakings.

The King of France, our common father, solicitous for your happiness, and to convince you and to give you an authentic mark of the sincere friendship he always had for you and that he always will have for you, if you deserve the continuation of it, sends me to you, my children, in concert with the United States of America, our allies and good friends to remind you of your duties, your obligations and your engagements towards so good a Prince, to defeat soon and entirely our common enemy, and profit afterwards in time of peace, of your fathers' heritage. Our common Father will not neglect anything to gratify all your wishes and to make you happy. Your cries have reached his throne, have excited the tender sensibility of his heart towards you. May you correspond to it, my children.

I hope, my children, to have soon the pleasure to see you all together at Machias. I await that moment very impatiently. I shall speak to you more at length at our first meeting. I arrived

yesterday at half-past two, and I write you to-day and send you as a proof of my devotion and of my invariable attachment, a wampum pledge ✠ of peace, which the bearer will give you from me, and which I beg you to accept with the same sentiments.

I give my best regards to you, to your chiefs, your wives and your children and I am for life with the sincerest friendship,

Your affectionate,

DE LA MOTTE, R. AUG.,
CHAPLAIN OF THE KING'S VESSELS.

To the Chiefs and young men living at Passamaquody.

N.B.—I beg of you to circulate my letter among you.

[From copy in Riggs Library, Georgetown College.]

[Another translation of the letter is given in Shea's *History*, II, 182.]

Kidder's *Revolutionary Operations in Maine*, p. 286, says that Father de la Motte was, in 1779, sent by Colonel Allan to the Penobscot Indians, that on July 1, 1779, the priest arrived at Machias on his way to Passamaquody; that Colonel Allan wrote: "His behaviour and conduct has given me much satisfaction. He is indefatigable in the business."

Nothing appears to show how long Father La Motte continued to serve the Indians at Passamaquody, but we learn from the letter of the French Consul at Boston, herewith given, that after Father de la Motte's departure the Indians went to St. John's "to see a priest," who was a supporter of British authority, but they assured him they were "determined to be the friends of the Americans."

When Admiral De Terney, with the French fleet, arrived at Rhode Island, James Avery, secretary of Colonel Allan, applied for a priest to go to Machias for the Indians. "The Admiral could not return a positive answer," wrote the secretary, "until the day after I left the Island, which he was to do to General Heath, but from what he said I have reason to think one will be granted." He wrote from Boston, August 8, 1780.

The application was successful. De Valnais, the French Consul at Boston, by the letter annexed addressed to the Indians under Colonel Allan, informed them, "the King of France sends you a priest to direct your consciences." His name does not appear —probably one of the chaplains of the French fleet. Nor is the tribe to which he may have ministered known.

LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE, SENDS A PRIEST TO THE CATHOLIC INDIANS WHO HAD DECLARED TO THE PRIEST AT ST. JOHN'S THEY "WERE DETERMINED TO BE THE FRIENDS OF THE AMERICANS."

By the King of France.

To the chiefs, old men, warriors of the different tribes of the Indians of the Eastern Department, commanded by John Allan, Colonel and Superintendent of the Indian Affairs.

Dear Brethren: Your necklace of wampum which has been delivered to me by our brother, the Colonel John Allan, nominated by the Great Congress of America, agent for our Brethren of the Eastern Department, was presented to me by Mr. Avery, his secretary; as also your discourse in which you make us sure of your affection, your zeal and your attachment for our common father, Louis XVI, King of France, and for the United States. I very sincerely thank you in the name of the King, my master, for the affection and friendship that you have for both nations, in testimony of which, and also to continue the alliance that exists for so long a time between us, I send you the necklace of friendship with a medal that I had fixed to it, as an expression of the sincerity of our common father, as also of his children, towards our Brethren, the Indians living in the Eastern part of this State. Our Brethren of the honorable Council of Massachusetts Bay have given a medal in the name of the great Congress of America; that medal I had fixed at the other end of the necklace as a pledge of their friendship.

My Brethren: I cannot help expressing to you the grief I feel in your going to St. John's to see a priest commissioned by our cruel and natural enemy who seeks but to break the chain of friendship that exists between us and the United States. And especially you have done so contrary to Colonel John Allan's advice and opinion. Thenceforth I shall forget your conduct and promise you never to think of it anymore. But also I hope that you will take better precaution in the future and that the connection that exists between us for so long a time may be durable and pure. In the meantime I cannot help but admire the answer you have made to the priest of the River St. John, in assuring him that you were determined to be the friends of the Americans, and that I am delighted to know

that you have retired to the lake of Passamaquody, coming thus nearer to your brethren, the Americans, especially after the interview you had with the said Priest.

It was not possible to our brethren, the Americans, to send for you and your families all the relief you need. It is not of want of a good heart for you, but they have a large army to supply and they are obliged to give a part of their help to each one. They hope, nevertheless, to be soon able to send you more help and to make you and your families as happy as possible. However, they are very sorry to let you know that the harvest was very poor this year on account of the great dryness.

My Brethren: Louis XVI, King of France, our illustrious common father, having heard that you were in want of a priest to take care of your souls, guided by his great goodness for you, sends you one to direct your consciences. He will hear you and administer to you the Sacraments according to the spirit of our religion. His stay among you will be short, because those with whom he came need him also, and but their affection for you made them decide to send this Rev. Father to you.

My Brethren: Our brother, the Colonel John Allan, will communicate to you some news and other things. You may believe everything he tells you as if it were said by myself.

Good-bye, Dear Brethren, God bless you and take under His holy protection your chiefs, your old men, your young warriors, your wives and your children.

As a pledge of our sincerity, we have signed this letter in the name of his Majesty, Louis XVI, King of France and we have affixed the seal of our Arms.

Given at Boston in the house of the Consul of France on 23d of August, 1780.

De Valnais,
Consul of France.

[Seal, Red Wax.]

By Mr. Jacques A. Omer, Consul.

A few days later a deputation of Indians came to Rhode Island. On September the 13th "the whole army turned out to be reviewed by a number of Indian chiefs—a committee from several tribes in Canada who were sent to Rhode Island to obtain the certainty of a French fleet which the British endeavored to keep a secret from them," records the diary of Rev. Enos Hitchcock. [*Pub. R. I. His. So.*, Jan., 1900, p. 223.]

In the *Journal* of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Army, it is recorded under date of August 29, 1780: "A score of savages arrived at Newport; part of them Iroquois. Some others came from a village called The Falls of St. Louis (situated in the environs of Albany), which is Catholic, as they asked to hear Mass, on arriving. Among them was a Mulatto who had served with the Americans; he spoke French and they called him Captain Louis. There was also a German who had lived among them since he was twelve years old. The only clothing which these savages had was a blanket in which they wrapped themselves; they had no breeches. . . . These savages, for a long time friendly to the French and who, in speaking of the King of France, called him *our Father,* complimented Rochambeau, who received them very kindly and gave them some presents, among other things some red blankets which had been greatly recommended to us on our departure from Brest. He told them that many of their neighbors, deceived by the English, had made war upon the Americans, who, they had told them, were our enemies. That, on the contrary, they were our friends, and that we came to defend them, and that they would pursue a course of conduct agreeable to their father if they would act in the same way and make war upon the English; he urged them to remember this discourse well and repeat it to their neighbors. They dined that day with him at his quarters. I saw them at table for an instant, they behaved themselves well there and ate cleanly enough. In the afternoon the troops were shown them, who manœuvred and went through the firing exercise; they showed no surprise, but seemed to be well pleased with this exhibition. On the next day they dined on board the 'Duc de Bourgogne.' In the evening they were persuaded to dance. They went away on the second of September. Some other Catholic savages had asked us for a priest; we sent them a Capuchin who was chaplain of one of the vessels." [p. 61-3.]

The descendants of these patriot Indians of the Revolution now remaining are the beneficiaries of the loyalty of their ancestors. The annexed despatch, published as we prepared this article, shows this:

AUGUSTA, March 15, 1908.

An eternal obligation binding the State of Massachusetts, and later assumed by the State of Maine, to care for the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians, 851 all told, in return for their patriotism

and loyalty to the colonists in the days of the struggle for independence with Great Britain, has come to prominence in considering means for the relief of the remnants of these two tribes now living within the boundaries of the State.

The Indians have passed through a hard winter. Clever in basketry, they have for many years made a considerable profit from the sale of their products, but last summer the trade was unusually poor, and there being less calls than usual for the services of guides during the hunting season last fall a drain was caused on the State's Indian fund. This fund had its origin indirectly in an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts in the interim between the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the adoption of the Constitution, when the Legislatures exercised the right of making treaties.

The Indians in the district of Maine fought with the colonists for freedom. After the establishment of peace the Massachusetts Legislature made a treaty with the Indians setting aside several townships of land for their use and guaranteeing to them and their descendants forever that the State would always stand between them and want. When Maine separated from Massachusetts and became a State she assumed the obligations of the treaty. Later a law was passed opening the Indian townships to sale, and the money received was put into a fund for the support of the Indians. The fund now amounts to about $75,000.

The Penobscot tribe is clustered together on a small island in the Penobscot River. The last census showed a membership of 388. The Passamaquoddy tribe is settled in the extreme eastern part of the State and numbers some 463 souls.

At Oldtown, Penobscot County, Maine, at the Indian village, is St. Ann's Church, a mission of St. Joseph's Church. It has a school of over sixty pupils, taught by the Sisters of Mercy.

At Orono, in the vicinity of Oldtown, is the Church of St. Mary's.

ORONO, THE CATHOLIC CHIEF OF THE PENOBSCOTS. THE FRIEND OF THE AMERICANS—"WE KNOW OUR RELIGION AND LOVE IT"—AND WILL "DEFEND THE COUNTRY."

On one of the bases of the Centennial Fountain erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, in 1876, by the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, is carved the profile head of Orono, the Catholic Indian Chief of the Penobscot Tribe of Eastern Maine. It is in recognition of his services to the Americans during the Revolution.

Having in preceding articles shown, in some degree, the extent and value of the services of that and other tribes in that region, a brief presentation of the career of this Chief may be of interest, as his services were important and his influence most helpful.

Indeed, the historian of *Revolutionary Operations in Maine and Nova Scotia* expresses his belief that "the province of Nova Scotia, now known as New Brunswick, which did not, in 1777, contain one thousand inhabitants and these all friendly to the American cause," could have, with the addition of five hundred more men than Colonel Allan's expedition of Indians had, been held in all that extensive domain for our cause; a new State would have arisen there and the wide Bay of Fundy would have been made the eastern boundary of the great Republic. [Kidder, p. 82.]

The following information concerning this noted Catholic Indian Chief and friend and supporter of American Liberty and Independence will sufficiently portray his character and services without entering upon details. It suffices to quote Colonel John Allan's declaration: "The Indians continue steadfast friends and make earnest entreaty for a Priest to be sent them as soon as may be," to show that Orono combined religion with patriotism—the love of his country and the love of God.

"We know our religion and love it." [Shea, II, 155.]

Orono was born in 1688 and so was thirty-nine years old in 1727, and as Wenamouet may have lived several years, perhaps, after 1727, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Orono may have been his immediate successor, an inference the more easy from the fact that after this time there was little trouble with the Indians and that Orono was always inclined to peace and good neighborhood.

Joseph Orono, according to a tradition that received general acceptance among the old settlers, was the child of white parents and was stolen in infancy by the Tarratines from the neighborhood of Brunswick. I have heard it said that he had blue eyes, and perhaps the impression in regard to his ancestry may have had its origin in, or gained strength from, this fact.

At any event, all accounts agree that he was an able, sagacious and friendly chief. He could say with Logan and truthfully that he was the "friend of the white man." When the Revolutionary War broke out, resisting all the solicitations of other tribes, he extended his sympathy and tendered his aid to the Americans, and at a moment when Indians in other parts of the State were threatening to join the English, Orono, Joseph Pease, Poreris and another captain arrived at Falmouth (now Portland) on their way to the Provincial Congress. Mr. Gilman, their interpreter, represented Orono as a man of good sense and a hearty friend to the Americans.

The people of Falmouth provided for them a carriage, horses and money to help them on their journey to Portsmouth. What followed is told by Drake in the following words:

"Only two days after the battle of Bunker Hill, there arrived at Cambridge, the headquarters of the Americans, a deputation of the Penobscot Indians, of whom the celebrated Orono was chief. An order was passed for their entertainment, while there and for their return home.

"They came to tender their services in the war now begun, which was done by Orono in a speech to a Committee of the Provincial Congress, June 21, 1775. 'In behalf of the whole Penobscot tribe,' the chief said, 'if the grievances under which his people labored were removed, they would aid with their whole force to defend the country.' These grievances were briefly stated and consisted chiefly of trespasses by the whites upon their timberlands, cheating them at trade, etc.

"The Committee returned an affectionate address and although the groans of the dying from the late terrible field of battle were sounding in their ears, they say nothing about engaging the Indians in the war, but assured them that 'as soon as they could take breath from the present fight,' their complaints should receive attention. Some of the Penobscots did engage in the battle.

"The Provincial Congress at this session strictly forbade all trespasses on the lands claimed by the Indians, six miles in width

on each side of the Penobscot River from the head of the tide up the river as far as they claimed, and in 1786 a treaty was made in which the Indians released all claims to lands on the Penobscot from the head of the tide of the Piscataquis River on the west side and to Mattawamkeag on the east side, reserving to themselves only Oldtown Island and all other islands in the river above it to Mattawamkeag. The government assured them the title in fee to these islands and to two others near Sedgwick.

"Orono died February 5, 1801, aged 113 years.

"The venerable Mrs. Hamm who is living (1874) in this village in the 97th year of her age has a distinct remembrance of the chief and was present at his funeral. She describes him as tall, straight, well-built and fine looking and with blue eyes."

[From the centennial oration of Hon. Israel Washburn in Orono, 1874, memorial volume.]

This same memorial volume contains a letter written by Enoch Freeman, June 14, 1775, which, among other things, states: ". . . is returned here from Penobscot with four Indian chiefs, Orono, J. Pease, Poreris and one more bound up to the Congress. Orono seems to be a sensible, serious man and a hearty friend." [Page 33, Mem. Vol.]

Alden's *Epitaphs,* Vol. I, No. 69, published in New York, 1812, says of Orono:

Orono, the venerable chief of the Penobscot tribe, departed this life on 5th February, 1801, at the age of 113. He was greatly endeared to his tribe, and spent his life in cultivating the principles of peace. During the Revolutionary War he formed a treaty with our government, which he faithfully kept, while some of the more southern tribes became a scourge to our frontier settlements.

According to tradition, the island in Penobscot River, called Oldtown, has been the favorite residence of the aborigines for more than a thousand years. The present inhabitants are Roman Catholics, who have a decent chapel and bell and are diligently instructed by a missionary.

The following anecdote occurs, as given to the author of this work by the late Rev. Daniel Little, of Kennebunk. Mr. Little was sent on a mission, many years ago, into the Penobscot country, where he became acquainted with Orono. On a certain occasion he asked Orono in what language he prayed. Orono made no reply,

but assumed a grave aspect. Mr. Little repeated the question; but Orono, without uttering a word, looked still more grave. After a little interval, Mr. Little, clapping Orono on his shoulder, said, "Come, Orono, come! Tell me in what language you say your prayers, Indian, French or Latin?" Orono, with a solemnity of countenance, which delighted Mr. Little, lifted up his hands and his eyes towards heaven and said: "No matter! Great Spirit knows all language."

Orono was unquestionably of white origin. It is conjectured that he was a native of York, in the District of Maine, that his family name was Donnel, that, in 1692, when that place was, in a great measure, destroyed by the savage enemy, he was carried into captivity, and that his relatives, who escaped with their lives, not knowing what became of him, supposed him to have been killed.

The following lines, occasioned by his death, are attributed to Martin Kinsley, Esq., and were published in the *Piscataway Magazine,* Vol. I:

Ah! brother Sanop, what bad news you speak!
Why steals the tear adown thy sombre cheek?
Why heaves thy breast with such tremendous sighs,
And why despair dart horror from thy eyes?
Has the Great Spirit, from the world above,
Call'd home your chief, the object of your love?
Ah! Yes, too well I know his spirit's fled,
Too well I know your Orono is dead.
Each warrior Sanop now unbends his bow,
While grief and sorrow brood upon his brow.
Each manly youth reclines his head and cries
In Orono, our friend and chieftain dies.
Each young papoose to sympathy is bred,
And, shrieking, whoops, "Your Orono is dead."
Each sombre face in pallid hue appears,
And each his grief in death-like silence bears.
The great Penobscot rolls his current on
And silently bemoans his oldest son.
A century past, the object of his care,
He fed and cloth'd him with his fish and fur;
But now, alas! he views his shore in vain,
To find another Orono in man.
For whiter Indians, to our shame we see,
Are not so virtuous nor humane as he.
Disdaining all the savage modes of life,
The tomahawk, the bloody scalping knife,

He sought to civilize his tawny race,
'Till death, great Nimrod of the human race,
Hit on his track, and gave this hunter chase.
His belt and wampum now aside are flung,
His pipe extinguish'd, and his bow unstrung,
When countless moons their destin'd rounds shall cease,
He'll spend an endless calumet of peace.

EPITAPH.

Safe lodg'd within his blanket, here below,
Lies the last relics of old Orono;
Worn down with toil and care, he, in a trice
Exchanged his wigwam for a paradise.

Hon. William D. Williamson, in a contribution to the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, Third Series, Vol. IX, page 82 [Bangor, March 12, 1838], does not uphold the belief that Orono was of white origin, but maintains that he was the son of an Indian and a half-breed French and Indian woman. His account of Orono is as follows:

Joseph Orono was, for a long time, the well-known Chief of the Tarratine Indians, on the river Penobscot. But, though he was only an Indian Sagamore, his name, for the merits of his character, is worthy of remembrance and respect. His ancestry, as the exact number of his years, is involved in some doubt. For there are no family names among the natives, by which the lineage of any individual can be traced; as a son inherits no name of his father.

There has been a story, that he was a native of York, in this State, born about the year 1688; that his paternal name was Donnel; and that he was one of the captive children taken in the winter of 1692, when that place was ravaged by the Indians. But this account is improbable; as the Northern Indians and those of the Merrimac and Androscoggin made the attack, and soon afterwards sent back to the garrison houses the elderly women, and the children between the ages of three and seven years, in recompense to the English for previously sparing the lives of several Indian females and children at Pejopscot.

At that time, moreover, the Donnel family was one of the most distinguished in the province, Samuel being the same year one of the Council, and his brother a man of considerable note. So that, if a son of either of them had been taken captive, it is probable he

was returned or recovered; or, at least, there would have been some traditional account of his being carried away. But no such report, even in York, has come down to this generation; and Captain Joseph Munsell, of Bangor, now in his eighty-eighth year, says the story has no foundation in fact, and has been treated by the intelligent Indians with derision.

Another account, equally amusing, and more evident, is, that Orono was the descendant of Baron de Castine, a French nobleman, who soon after the treaty of Breda in 1667, located himself on the peninsula of the town which now bears his name, and married a daughter of the celebrated Madockawando, a Tarratine chief of the age. It is true, that Castine resided many years at that place, and carried on a very lucrative trade with the natives; that he had three or four Tarratine wives, one being that sagamore's daughter; and that, of his several children, one was "Castine the Younger," a very worthy man, and another, a beautiful daughter, who married a Frenchman, and was, with her children, in 1704, taken captive. One of these, it has been supposed, was Orono. [*Note.*—Nickolar, his kindred, says, "Orono was some related to old Castine."] Yet this rests too much on mere probability and conjecture to deserve entire belief.

But whatever may have been the lineage or extraction of Orono, it is certain he was white in part, a half-breed or more; such being apparent in his stature, features, and complexion. He himself told Captain Munsell his father was a Frenchman, and his mother was half French and half Indian; but who they were by name, he did not state. Orono had not the copper-colored countenance, the sparkling eyes, the high cheekbones, the tawny features of a pristine native. His hair, when young, was brown, perhaps approaching to an auburn cast; his face was large, broad and well formed, of a sickly whiteness, susceptible of ready blushes, and remarkably sedate. In his person, he was tall, straight, and perfectly proportioned; and in his gait there was a gracefulness which of itself evinced his superiority. He did not incline his head forward, nor his feet inward, so much as Indians usually do. But what principally gave him distinction was his mind, his manners, and his disposition. For Orono was a man of good sense and great discernment; in mood thoughtful, in conversation reserved, in feelings benign. Hence, he never allowed himself to speak, till he had considered what to say; always expressing his thoughts in short sen-

tences, directly to the point. He had not much learning, being only able to read a little and write his name. But he could converse freely in three languages, the Indian, French and English; perhaps, also, understood some Latin phrases in the Romish litany, and also to its forms of worship.

Orono's manners were both conciliating and commanding, and his habits worthy of all imitation. For he was not only honest, chaste, temperate, and industrious; his word was sacred, and his friendship unchanging. He was remarkable for his forethought and wisdom,—for his mild and equable disposition. Though he was not deficient in courage or any of the martial virtues, he was so fully aware how much wars had wasted his tribe, and entailed misery on the survivors, as to become, from principle, a uniform and persevering advocate of peace. He knew, and always labored to convince his people, that they flourished best, and enjoyed most, under its refreshing shades.

Orono was a high Liberty man, and from the first a thoroughgoing Whig. He could not imagine how the Mother Country could possibly wish to enslave or plunder the colonies, which were, as he thought, her distant children. Such were his views of riches, regions, sovereignty, and even glory, that he could not see how all of them combined could be any motive to so *unnatural* a warfare. Liberty, next to peace, was the sweetest sound that could salute Orono's ear. It was, to his experience, the gift and feeling of nature. In conference with his people, he declared it to be an inborn disposition of the heart, and natural habit of life, to strive against force and control, as against death. He felt it. He knew it. The wild creatures that rove through the woods he had seen happy though hungry, because they were under no ties that bound them. The brave little beaver fights a duel with a hunter boy for the chance of escape. What being does not sigh and sicken in confinement? Does not even the spring bird, then, forget its song? The ermine its sports? All nature flourishes, when free. The Great Spirit gives us freely all things. Our white brothers tell us they came to Indian's country to enjoy liberty and life. Their great sagamore is coming to bind them in chains, to kill them. We must fight him. We will stand on the same ground with them. For should he bind them in bonds, next he will treat us as bears. Indian's liberties and lands his proud spirit will tear away from them. Help his illtreated sons; they will return good for good,

and the law of love run through the hearts of their children and ours, when we are dead. Look down the stream of time. Look up to the Great Spirit. Be kind. Be valiant; be free—then are Indians the sons of glory.

Aroused and captivated by Orono's sentiments, his people generally became decided Whigs. He had also great influence with the sachems at Passamaquoddy, and even at the river St. John, though in each of the tribes there were Indian Tories, and party spirit ran high; human nature, whether cultivated or wild, exhibited the same traits of character. At length Orono and three of his colleagues started to go and tender their friendship and services to the government of Massachusetts, attended by Andrew Gilman, who could speak their language as well as his own. On their arrival at Portsmouth, money was liberally contributed to bear their expenses, and a carriage procured to help them on their journey. They met the Provincial Congress at Watertown, on July 21, 1775, and entered into a treaty of amity with that body, and of engagements to afford assistance; afterwards proving themselves to be amongst the most faithful allies of the American people. In return for their pledges of good faith and immediate aid, Massachusetts forbade, under severe penalties, all trespasses on their lands, six miles in width on each side of the Penobscot River from the head of the tide upwards. On the 19th of July, 1776, the three tribes mentioned all acknowledged the independence of the United States, and engaged to withhold all succours from the British enemy. In fact, there were stationed near the head of the tide on the Penobscot a company of thirty [twenty white men and ten Indians], under the command of Andrew Gilman, a lieutenant, and Joseph Munsell, an orderly sergeant, and at Machias, where Munsell was afterwards himself a lieutenant, there was a large company of one hundred Indians or more, commanded by Captain John Preble, all of whom had rations, and most of whom were under pay. No man was more faithful to his engagements than Orono. From 1779, when the British took possession of the peninsula Biguydun (now Castine), and exercised an arbitrary command over all the settlements on each side of the river, that active, vigilant chief communicated with great dispatch to our officers and government important and repeated intelligence; for which he once, if not more, received a tribute of special thanks, and also a pecuniary reward. He was wise in counsel, and his zeal to the last was inspiring to his tribe.

Orono was holden in equally high estimation after the war as before; and in 1785 and 1796, he entered into favorable treaties with Massachusetts, by which he and his tribe, for valuable considerations, assigned to her large tracts of land; and also agreed with her upon the limits and extent of the territory retained. This celebrated chief, after a very long life of usefulness and distinction, died at Oldtown, February 5, 1801; reputed to have been one hundred and thirteen years old. But Captain Munsell, who conversed with him in his last sickness, and asked him his age, thinks, according to his best recollections, Orono told him he was about one hundred and ten years of age then. He was exceedingly endeared to his tribe, and highly respected by all of his English acquaintance. To a remarkable degree, he retained his mental faculties and erect attitude, till the last years of his life. As he was always abstemious, and as his hair in his last years was of a milky whiteness, he resembled, in appearance, a cloistered saint. His wife, who was a full-blooded native, died several years after him, at an age supposed to be greater than his own. Of his posterity, it is only known that he had two children; one a son, who was accidentally shot, about 1774, in a hunting party, aged probably twenty-five; the other a daughter, who married old Captain Nicholas. So desirous were his English friends and neighbors to perpetuate his name and character, that, when the territory in the immediate vicinity of Oldtown was incorporated into a town, March 12, 1806, it was called "Orono," in compliment to the worthy old chief.

In all the public services of the Church, Orono took a prominent part. His assiduity at Mass, his joining in its Gregorian chant, his responding to the litanies and his reception of the Sacraments, furnished a grand exemplar of all that was noble and elevating in Christian life, which materially advanced the spirituality of his tribe by spurring them on to the practice of their religion. Whilst he never peremptorily commanded them to observe the laws of the Church, his example in this regard mounted to the same.

During his lifetime there were few delinquents in religious matters among the Tarratines of March Island, and it was a pleasure for the "black robes" to expound to them the teachings of the true Church.

So writes Rev. John M. Harrington, pastor at Orono, Maine, who adds: "All my investigations have failed to discover his grave, and not one of the Indians now on Indian Island knows where their great Chief's dust awaits the Resurrection."

THE CATHOLIC LOYALIST HIGHLANDERS

OF THE

MOHAWK VALLEY

The Scotch in Scotland and in America were nearly all British loyalists. "You have all Scotland, without exception," wrote Junius to King George III.

The Presbyterian Minister, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, of Princeton College, was a notable exception, which caused the Continental Congress to strike out of the draft of the Declaration the charge that the King had employed Scotch and other foreign mercenaries to overawe the colonists. General William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, Generals St. Clair, Mercer, Andrew McDonald (defeated at Battle of White Plains), Sergeant Andrew Wallace [a Catholic] and Colonel John Allan, are also worthy exceptions.

In 1773-4 there came to America a largely increased immigration of the Scotch Highlanders, Presbyterian and Catholic. Nova Scotia, North Carolina and Western New York were the principal places of settlement.

Sir William Johnson, who had estates on the Mohawk River, New York, who died July 11, 1774, instigated the movement of the Scotch Highlanders to that section of the undeveloped Western New York. It was taken up by his son and successor, Sir John Johnson, Knight and Baronet, living at Johnstown, Tryon County, about forty miles west of Albany. Under his landlord rule a goodly number of settlers were placed on his vast estate on which already, under his father, a settlement of Germans had been made on the fertile plain since known as "The German Flats." "For the most part they were descendants of sturdy Palatine recrusants who had suffered the extremity of ill for conscience sake and to whom the very name of Papist was abominable," says Cruikshank in *History of Butler's Rangers,* p. 15.

Sir William Johnson, though born in Ireland, traced his descent from the MacIan branch of the McDonnels of Glencoe. Cruikshank continues: "A feeling of kinship prompted him to enter into a correspondence which led to the immigration, in 1773, of the McDonels of Aberchallader, Collachie, Leek and Scottus in Glengarry, with many of their relatives and dependents, forming a

body of more than six hundred person. They were all Roman Catholics." [P. 15.] Yet the *Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries* for 1897, p. 129, says: "Most of them were Protestants." Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in *History of the Church,* p. 142, Vol. II, says "they were chiefly Catholics and numbered three hundred, who were attended by Rev. John McKenna." Other sources of information and subsequent events strengthen the belief that the greater part of the newcomers were Catholics.

"To the peaceful German farmers around them they seemed a rude, fierce and quarrelsome race, constantly wearing dirk and broadsword and much given over to superstition and idolatrous practices. Accordingly when the local Whig Committee announced that Sir John Johnson had fortified the Hall and surrounded himself with a body of Highland Roman Catholics for its defence, they could have appealed to the inhabitants in a no more effective way. They had already learned to dislike the Highlanders and they detested their religion." [Cruikshank, p. 15.]

Highlanders also emigrated to North Carolina in large numbers, but these immigrants appear to have been wholly Presbyterian —no trace of Catholics being noticeable. Of the number was Flora McDonald, the rescuer of Charles Edward, the so-called "Pretender" to the throne of England, whom she disguised as her serving maid, calling him Betty Burke. [Browne's *His. Highlanders,* Vol. IV.]

Though all were Presbyterians and the Presbyterians of the other colonies were almost unanimously supporters of the Continental Congress, yet these Protestant Highlanders resisted every endeavor made to win them to the side of the colonies. They declared they would not break the oath taken "never to take up arms against Great Britain." Congress sent two Presbyterian Ministers, Rogers and Caldwell, to try and change their resolve.

The Ministers sought to win them by assurances that as the oath was taken by compulsion they were not bound to keep it. Praying, preaching and exhortation all failed to change. Even their anti-Catholic sentiments were appealed to. They were told the King had broken his coronation oath, that he had turned Roman Catholic and was about to establish that religion throughout the continent and to make slaves of his Protestant subjects; to oppose which was the only object of Congress—the only wish of the Colonies. [Jones' *N. Y. in Rev.,* II, 9.]

But the North Carolina Presbyterian Highlanders were unmoved. As "The Regulators" they did good service for their old enemy.

There were Presbyterians among the Highlanders of New York as well as Catholics. Yet though hostile in faith they united against the Colonies even though in New York "No Popery" was the cry as well as the motto displayed on the first Liberty flag hoisted there. The spirit of hatred to Catholicity which the Ministers to the North Carolina Highlanders sought to arouse into an infidelity to an oath, was likewise the prevailing spirit in New York and which must have manifested itself against the Highlanders there.

Isaac Low, a patriot of New York City, at the meeting on April 29, 1775, to form an Association, declared the King was a Roman Catholic, nay a Roman Catholic tyrant; he had broken his coronation oath; had established the Popish religion in Canada, which was shortly to be extended to all the Colonies. [*Ibid,* I, p. 42.]

The Association, May 11, 1775, declared, "The establishment of Popery . . . must endanger the Liberty and Prosperity of the whole Empire. [Am. Ar. 4 S. II, 534.]

When the trouble with the Colonists was becoming serious, steps were taken to stop the emigration of the Scotch. England feared they might but add to the force of the antagonists against her already active in the Colonies. But she erred. Had she not debarred their coming, a stronger body of her supporters would have been at her service in America.

On September 11, 1775, the Board of Customs enjoined vessels from Scotland being cleared to America, "on account of the present rebellion." Notification was given the inhabitants "who had formed the resolution of leaving Scotland" that they "ought not to put themselves to the unnecessary trouble and expense of preparing a removal of their habitation which they will not, so far as is in my power to prevent, be permitted to effectuate," announced His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, Archibald Cockburn, to the Sheriff of Edinburgh. [Am. Ar. 4 S. 3, 655, 775.]

As the Scotch were almost universally Loyalists, that order doubtless lessened England's upholders. In 1778 Bishop Hay declared to Sir John Dalrymple that "nearly all the emigrants who had left the Highlands a few years ago were now wearing His

Majesty's uniform." [Shea, II, p. 142, citing Gordon's *Journal* and *Appendix,* 1867, p. 144.]

The adherents of "the Rebellion" were equally concerned about these Scotch Highlanders.

Scotius Americanus, of Williamsburg, N. Y., published, November 23, 1775, an address "To the Emigrants Lately Arrived from the Highlands of Scotland." He explained the "differences which at present subsist between Great Britain and her American Colonies." He said:

"It was not to become slaves you forsook your native shores. Nothing could have buoyed you up against the prepossessions of nature and of custom but a desire to fly from tyranny and oppression. Here you found a country with open arms ready to receive you; no persecuting landlord to torment you; none of your property exacted from you to support court favorites and dependents. Under these circumstances, your virtue and your interest were equally securities for the uprightness of your conduct; yet, independent of these motives, inducements are not wanting to attach you to the cause of Liberty. No people are better qualified than you, to ascertain the value of freedom. They only can know its intrinsic worth who have had the misery of being deprived of it." [Am. Ar. 4 S., 3 V., p. 1650.]

All this was done because of the present rebellion in America. Yet the Scotch already in America were staunch adherents of the British crown and resolute upholders of the King's authority, not only those in New York but those in North Carolina as well.

But our purpose is to present a brief but compact-fact narration of the events that transpired in the Mohawk Valley in which the Catholic Highlanders there resident were concerned.

Here we may take the narration of Dr. Shea as illustrative of how "Catholic" History is presented, when relating the position of the Highlanders of New York. "The outburst of bigotry in New York excited by the Quebec Act and stimulated by narrow-minded fanatics like John Jay, caused the only serious trouble experienced by Catholics during this period. A number of Scotch Highlanders, chiefly Catholics from Glengarry, had settled near Johnson's Hall, in the Mohawk Valley, to which they had been invited by Sir William Johnson. They were attended by the Rev. John McKenna, an Irish priest, educated at Louvain. Comparatively strangers in the country, many speaking English imperfectly,

the immigrants knew very little of the points on which the Colonists based their complaints against the English government. They soon found themselves denounced as Tories, Papists and friends of British tyranny by the fanatics near them. They were disarmed by General Schuyler, and before the spring of 1776 began to withdraw to Canada, by way of Oswegatchie, abandoning the homes they had created in the wilderness. Their sufferings were great—one party subsisting for ten days on their dogs and herbs they gathered. Their priest, more obnoxious than his flock, withdrew with a company of three hundred and took up his abode with the Jesuit Fathers at Montreal."

"The bigotry of those whose anti-Catholic feelings led them to drive the Catholic MacDonalds from the Mohawk and force them to place themselves under the flag they hated, the flag of the Hanoverian—in full accord with those who sent those stalwart Highlanders within the British lines when they would gladly have avenged Culloden." [Dr. John Gilmary Shea before the U. S. C. His. Society of New York, November 25, 1889.]

Here is the manner in which the matter was presented by Henry De Courcy and John Gilmary Shea in the *History of the Church,* published in 1856, p. 346:

In relating that the Constitution of New York, adopted in 1776 on motion of John Jay, declared that foreigners who sought naturalization should "abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and state in all matters *ecclesiastical* and civil;" that Jay, on May 20, 1776, further endeavored to amend so that "in the State the presence of a Catholic who did not deny on oath the power in the priesthood of remitting sins" would not be tolerated and that an amendment was adopted declaring: "Provided the liberty of conscience granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State."

Surely no Catholic could object to that latter requirement. But the *History* goes on to narrate "This fanaticism at once drove from the soil of New York a body of industrious and thrifty settlers. In the valley of the Mohawk, a number of the clan McDonald had settled under the auspices of Sir William Johnson; they were all strict Catholics, old adherents of the Stuart cause, whose blood yet thrills at the name of Charles Edward. They had hoped to enjoy the rights of freemen and the privilege of worship-

ping God in the western wilderness; but when the new government of New York deprived them of both, they emigrated in a body to upper Canada and formed the celebrated Glengary clan."

Again in the *Catholic News of New York,* November 6, 1889, Dr. Shea, editor, made this relation:

About 1773 a party of Catholic Highlanders settled with a priest on the Mohawk, where the Johnsons gave them lands. They set to work with industry to build up new homes in New York, knowing nothing of the public affairs of the colonies. Some violent Whigs objected to them as Catholics and regarded them as advocates of England in her oppression of the colonies. It was insane folly to suppose men, some of whom had fought at Culloden, men who had not forgotten the story of Glencoe nor the butcheries of Cumberland, eager to fight for England.

They were splendid fighting material, but they were Catholics; and full of the dominant bigotry of the time these New York zealots drove them out of their homes, and the Macdonells, after great suffering, reached Canada, the nearest haven open to them. There they found fellow Catholics, and England in time saw that she could use these brave men in her armies. She did not drive them back to New York to swell the ranks of the Continental army, she enrolled them in her own. These forced immigrants from New York, driven out by sectarian bigotry, settled in Upper Canada. Their descendants served England again in the War of 1812. These Glengarry regiments, composed of Catholics, commanded by Catholics, did good service, and showed their loyalty.

Their reward has been their subjection to the tyranny and oppression of the Orangemen of Toronto, and to be accused with their fellow Catholics of disloyalty. If they and their descendants did not become citizens of the United States and show their loyalty to our Government, it was not their fault, but the fault of those who "drove them into the English cause."

We will see how all these relations disagree with the ascertained facts and how these and other Scotchmen were indeed "eager to fight for England."

From MacLean's *Highlanders in America* we learn: "In August, 1773, three gentlemen of the name of Macdonell with their families and four hundred Highlanders from Glengarry, Glenmorison, Urquahart and Strathinglass embarked for America." These were Macdonell of Aberchalder, Leek and Collachie and also an-

other Macdonell of Scotus. They went to Tryon County, thirty miles from Albany where now is Gloversville.

The Committee of Safety of the Palatine District, Tryon County, on May 18, 1775, addressed the Albany Committee of Safety, saying: "The Johnson family had ruled the County for years and are dissuading people from coming into the Congressional measures and are fortifying Johnson Hall. Johnson had his regiment of militia under arms to prevent the friends of Liberty from publishing their attachment to the cause. Besides we are told that about one hundred and fifty Highlanders (Roman Catholics) in and about Johnsontown are armed and ready to march upon a like occasion."

The Committee of Tryon County declared Johnson's conduct in "fortifying his house and keeping Indians and armed men about him is highly arbitrary, illegal and unwarrantable and tends to confirm our fears that his design is to keep us in awe and oblige us to submit to a state of slavery."

Later a disturbance took place when "Sir Johnson fired a gun which was the signal for his retainers and Highlander partisans to rally in arms."

On June 5, 1776, Johnson sent Captain Allan MacDonnell to Governor Tryon, who was about to go to England, saying he would communicate "particulars of a plan not safe to commit to writing," but that many old and good officers and a great number of men are ready to complete the plan. [*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VIII, 651.]

The chief agents who organized the Scotch Highlanders of Nova Scotia, New England and New York to serve England appears to have been Captain Alexander McDonald, of Staten Island, New York; Captain John Macdonald, of Prince Edward Island; Colonel Allan McLean, and Captain Allan McDonald, through Sir John Johnson, of Johnstown, New York.

Lieutenant-Governor Colden, writing to the Earl of Dartmouth from New York on July 3, 1775, related how Allan McLean had gone to Boston, returned and set out for Albany, and "must proceed very cautiously to get to Colonel Johnson, thence proposes to go to Montreal by way of Oswego; that while McLean was at Boston the Provincial Congress discovered one McDonald, formerly a Sergeant, endeavoring to engage men for the King's troops; he was arrested and by papers found on him it was shown that he

was employed by Major Small for the purpose. He was sent to prison in Connecticut. [*N. Y. Col. Doc.,* VIII, p. 588.]

This was, probably, Allan McDonald. It was Allan McLean who had taken the tour from Boston to Montreal by way of New York, Albany, Johnstown, where he organized the battalion for which Johnson had the men "ready" [*N. Y. Col. Doc.,* VIII, 651], proceeded to Oswego, to Montreal and there organized the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, "of a body of Scotch refugees and disbanded soldiers." But what were the Highlanders—our Highlanders—of the Mohawk Valley doing?

General Schuyler writing to General Washington from Ticonderoga, August 6, 1775, said:

The whole family of the late Sir William Johnson have held a line of conduct that evinces the most inimical sentiments in them to the American cause. Sir John Johnson has had four hundred men, partly Scotch Highlanders, in arms, to protect a scoundrel Sheriff who had repeatedly insulted the good inhabitants of that county, which at length they retaliated. The inhabitants have, however, driven off the Sheriff and made the Knight promise he would interfere no more. [Am. Ar. 4 S. 3, p. 501.]

The Committee of Tryon County on September 7, 1775, reported to the Provincial Congress of New York: "There is a great number of proved enemies in and about Johnstown under Sir John Johnson, being Highlanders amounting to two hundred men." [Campbell's *Annals of Tryon Co.,* p. 59.]

"An eye was kept" on Johnson. He was reported to General Schuyler as instigating the Indians to unite with his armed Scots against the Americans. This he and the Indians, who sent a delegation to meet Schuyler who, with three hundred men, was approaching Johnstown, denied. But Cruikshank states Johnson was "secretly forming a regiment for the support of the government." [p. 30.] Schuyler seems, from his own report, to have believed Conner, a false informer, who, after the surrender of the inhabitants, had reported they had concealed many arms. This they vehemently denied. They offered their lives to the truth of their declaration. An examination of an island where Conner declared the arms had been hidden, proved he had lied. [*Pa. Mag.,* 1776.]

General Schuyler in his report to Congress of his expedition into Tryon County, gave the speech delivered "in a very haughty

manner" by the delegation of the Mohawks who met him on the 16th inst. and told him to have a care about opening a path of blood when the Colonies and the Six Nations had agreed to peace; they denied that Sir John Johnson was making military preparations or that he was making a fort around his house. "As we live so near him we should certainly know if anything of that nature should be done, especially as we go there so frequently on account of our father, the Minister who sometimes performs divine services at that place." The Rev. John Stuart, a Loyalist, was then the Minister.

An agreement was made by Johnson and Schuyler by which "The Scotch inhabitants shall, without any kind of exception, immediately deliver up all arms in their possession and they shall solemnly promise that they will not at any time hereafter, during the continuance of this unhappy contest, take up arms without the permission of the Continental Congress or their general officers, and for the more faithful performance of this article the General insists that they shall immediately deliver up to him six hostages of his own nomination." [*Pa. Mag.*, February, 1776, p. 98.]

On the 18th January, Johnson replied to the proposal relating to the hostages; he made answer: "The Scotch inhabitants will deliver up all their arms. Hostages they are not in a capacity to give. No one man having the command over another, or power sufficient to deliver such." Sir John Johnson and Allan McDonell brought the answer. It not being satisfactory, Schuyler, by reply, at eight o'clock, gave Johnson until "twelve this night" to accept or he would move his army. The Indian Sachems desired Schuyler to give until four in the morning so they could go and "shake the head" of Johnson "and bring him to his senses."

Johnson made such a reply as was acceptable to Schuyler. That relating to "hostages" Johnson's reply was, "After the Scotch inhabitants have surrendered their arms, General Schuyler may take any six prisoners from amongst them as he chooses without resistance. They expect, however, that the prisoners taken will be maintained agreeable to their respective rank and have the privilege of going to any part of New Jersey or Pennsylvania which the General or Continental Congress may appoint. They likewise expect that provision will be made for the maintenance of the prisoners' wives and children agreeable to their respective situations in life." Schuyler replied that he would take six prisoners, since they

preferred it to going as hostages—further he could not promise—for the present the prisoners will go to Reading or Lancaster.

On Saturday, January 20, 1776, "the Highlanders between two and three hundred marched to the front where they grounded their arms." The whole number disarmed was six hundred.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine,* January, 1776, reported: "By two gentlemen from Albany we hear General Schuyler has taken from the inhabitants of John's Town and parts adjacent, 670 odd muskets and pieces of cannon and brought off 15 prisoners."

"Although this was derisively termed by the Loyalists 'Schuyler's peacock expedition,' it really had very important results. All hope of a successful rising was ended, and the committees were thenceforth at liberty to continue their oppression without fear of reprisals. All open dissent was instantly and severely punished—'as Schuyler had disarmed all of Johnson's force' without firing a shot!" [Cruikshank's, p. 30.]

The British account says that Johnson "had mustered 600 men," that Schuyler took four pieces of artillery, ammunition and 360 guineas from Johnson's desk and compelled him to sign a bond for 1600 pounds sterling "not to aid the King's service nor to remove from a limited district from his house." [*N. Y. Col. Doc.,* VIII, p. 663.]

Those who surrendered as prisoners were: Allan McDonald and son, Alexander McDonald, Ronald McDonald, Archibald McDonald and John McDonald. So the name is given as McDonald in the Pennsylvania *Archives,* but McLean's *Highlanders in America* gives the names as McDonell. That no doubt is the correct form. These prisoners were sent to Reading, Pa., and later to Lancaster.

On April 5, 1776, Congress resolved that "Mr. Allan McDonell be permitted to remove his wife and family from Johnstown, Tryon County in the Province of New York into the Province of Pennsylvania and that the expense of such removal be defrayed by the Public."

Though Johnson had signed parole and his Highlanders and other armed men had been disarmed, they were held in suspicion as endeavoring to instigate the Indians to warfare against the patriots; "Johnson was constantly annoyed by inquisitorial visits and required to give reasons for every movement. Finally it was determined to make him a prisoner and remove the entire body of

Highlanders from the County. Schuyler wrote releasing him from his parole and sent a New Jersey regiment to deliver it and at the same time to take him into custody. By some means Johnson was warned of this artful scheme and determined to make his escape to Canada." [Cruikshank, p. 31.]

As Schuyler had determined to remove the Highlanders from the County the presumption is that they too were released from their parole or that they so considered themselves.

On May 14, 1776, General Schuyler sent Colonel Elias Dayton to give "notice to the Highlanders who live in the vicinity of Johnstown to repair to it and when any number are collected there you will send off their baggage, infirm women and children in wagons" and Johnson take prisoner. All were to be removed to Albany. Johnson, on May 18th, wrote Schuyler that he had received the letter "acquainting me that the elder Mr. McDonald had desired to have all the clan of his name removed and subsisted." Johnson declared all were his tenants and owed him £2000 which they could discharge if left in peace.

"Mrs. McDonald showed me a letter from her husband, written since he applied to Congress for leave to return to their families, in which he mentions he was told by Congress that it depended entirely on General Schuyler; he then desired that their families might be brought down to them. Mrs. McDonald requested that I inform you that neither herself nor any of the other families would choose to go down."

Colonel Dayton reported to Schuyler on May 19th that he had informed Johnson that he had arrived with troops to guard the Highlanders to Albany and desired he would fix a time for their assembly. Lady Johnson informed Dayton that Johnson had consulted the Highlanders and they had resolved not to deliver themselves as prisoners but to go another way and Sir John Johnson had determined to go with them—and if pursued would make an opposition and had it in their power in some measure.

On or about May 18, 1776, Sir John Johnson with three Indian guides and one hundred and thirty Highlanders and near one hundred and twenty other inhabitants attached to the British government left the house of Allan McDonel under the command of Lieutenant James Gray of the Forty-second Highland Regiment, though illy provided and proceeded to Canada.

This was the exodus described by Dr. Shea when their sufferings were so great. "Their provisions became exhausted and after nineteen days of great hardship they arrived at Montreal, having endured as much suffering as seemed possible to human nature to endure," says Cruikshank. "Many had deserted their families and left them to face the foe." On land allotted them they settled at Glengarry, Canada, and descendants are there now. Father McKenna, whom Dr. Shea speaks of as their pastor and heading the exodus, is nowhere mentioned in accounts of the flight from the Mohawk Valley settlement.

Dr. Shea gives this account of Rev. John McKenna: "He was born in Ireland and made his studies in Louvain. In 1775 he was pastor at Johnstown, New York, where he remained until 1776 when the anti-Catholic Whig party drove him off to Canada on account of his religion. He spoke German and at Montreal attended to the Catholics in the Hessian troops. He subsequently labored among the Scotch Catholics in Upper Canada."

He was the first resident Catholic Priest among the settlers in succession to the Jesuit Fathers. [*Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. I, p. 193, by N. Y. Cath. His. Soc., 1900.]

Diligent search has been made for corroborative evidence to support Dr. Shea's statement concerning the presence of Father McKenna as pastor of the Highlanders at Johnstown or as leading the exodus to Canada, being forced away by anti-Catholic bigotry. No such evidence has been discovered. McLean expressly declares the contrary by stating: "It has been noted that the Highlanders who settled on the Mohawk, on the lands of Sir William Johnson, were Roman Catholics. Sir William, or his son and successor, Sir John Johnson, took no steps to procure them a religious teacher in the principles of their faith. They were not so provided until after the Revolution and then only when they were settled on the lands [in Canada] that had been allotted to them."

In 1785 the people themselves took the proper steps to secure such a one—and one who was able to speak the Gaelic, for many of them were ignorant of the English. In the month of September, 1786, the ship "McDonald" from Greenock, brought Reverend Alexander McDonell, Scotus, with five hundred emigrants from Knoydart, who settled with their kinsfolk in Glengarry, Canada. [P. 230.]

The five prisoners or "hostages" taken by Schuyler from the

Scotch inhabitants were brought to Philadelphia and thence to Reading, Pa. They may all be counted as Catholics.

On June 13, 1777, Congress resolved to adopt the report of the Board of Treasury, "That by the terms of the treaty held at Johnstown the 18th of January, 1776, between Major-General Schuyler, on behalf of the United States and Sir John Johnson, and the Scotch inhabitants of Tryon County, Archibald McDonald, Allan McDonald, Alexander McDonald, Reynold McDonald and Allan McDonald, Jr., who surrendered themselves prisoners of war, were encouraged to expect to be supported by the United States in the rank of gentlemen, during their confinement; and the ordinary allowance to prisoners, of two dollars per week, being incompetent for that purpose, that there be allowed to the said prisoners, respectively after the rate of 3 69/90 dollars per week, for their subsistence from the time of their confinement; and the farther sum of 73 1/3 dollars for necessary expenses incurred by them in their attendance upon Congress, by leave of General Schuyler, to solicit a further allowance, the difference of subsistence and the expense both amounting to the sum of 678 60/90 dollars."

The name of John McDonald, one of the prisoners, does not appear in the *Resolve* of Congress.

On September 7, 1776, Congress, on report of the Committee of Treasury, ordered payment to be made: "To the hostages sent by General Schuyler to Reading in Pennsylvania, namely,—Allan McDonald, Sen., Allan McDonald, Jun., Alexander McDonald, Rennel McDonald and Archibald McDonald, their allowances from the 4th June to 3d of September, 13 weeks at 2 dollars each, is for, 130 dollars; for Angus McDonald and George McDonald, two servants, 13 weeks at one dollar a week is 26 dollars."

On October 21st, three weeks' allowance was made them. On December 5th they were paid the same allowance to December 10th.

Allan Macdonell, one of the prisoners, wrote from Reading, Pa., to Colonel Biddle of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, 24th January, 1777, saying:

"It was our misfortune to have been represented to General Schuyler as Inimical to the Colonies, in consequence of which we were by him compell'd to surrender ourselves prisoners and put under the disagreeable necessity of separating from our wives and families not then a year settled on the Continent, a circumstance that greatly adds to their and our misfortune, as they were strangers

to the climate as much as to the people, by which their health was the more precarious and uncertain. Not to mention many other unavoidable distresses they most labour under, let us add to these alarming ideas that we have not heard from them for the twelve months we have been confin'd to this place upon paroll. At the commencement of our captivity we observed to General Schuyler these, with many other grievances, all of which are to be seen in the *Philadelphia Magazeen* for Febry, 1776. He made no difficulty of our being allowed to visit our family's by turns, but this was the smallest part of our request at the time—for indeed our demands extended to the suport of them as well as seeing them. That I may not encroach too much upon your time let me, for myself and friends, beg you allow some one of us to visit them. The four remaining will pledge their body's that the person going will return again any day you appoint; not only so, but that he will deliver himself to General Schuyler at Albany and take his motions from him. I hope you will be satisfied we can have no Inducement to desire so long and expensive a journey but the knowledge we have of the many insirmountable deficultys they labour under, not to mention the little cloaths and linnings we brought to the place being worn to the last ragg and not any to replace them. If this meets the desired answer you will make us happy and that is what we have reason to hope fore from the humanity and feeling of gentlemen that may have family's of their own, and therefore, can better judge of our sufferings. If you find any impropriety in allowing any of our number to go, I hope you will permit the Committee of this place to grant a pass to some other person to go and return with the necessary number of days.

"ALLAN MACDONELL.

"*P.S.*—The place requested to go to is 20 or 30 miles west of Albany.

"To Owen Biddle, Esq.,

"Member of Committee of Safety, Phila."

[2 Pa. Ar. I, 454.]

On February 11, 1777, Mr. Macdonell wrote the Committee that he had had the pleasure of learning from Mr. John Beddle and Colonel Broadhead "that you agree to the request of my letter. Yet as I have not had the Honour of hearing from you since agreeably to the expectations given me by those gentlemen, I hope you

will excuse this second application, . . . craving that the other Mary'd Gentleman and myself may be indulged to go see our familys . . . the three remaining will be hostages for our returning Precisely to the day appointed Us."

In his first application Mr. Macdonell, or McDonald, as given in list of prisoners, pleaded that one of their number might be permitted to go. In his second application after hearing, informally, that his request had been agreed to though he had not been notified thereof, he asks for permits for two.

No further mention appears of the matter in the *Pennsylvania Archives'* records of the Committee of Safety. Without doubt two were allowed to go. Subsequent records seem to show that the two who were permitted to go must have been, by General Schuyler, included among those he was "determined to remove from the county," for it cannot be probable that they violated the terms of the parole and left their three friends to suffer the consequence. At any rate the evidence is that they went to Canada and entered the Royal Emigrant Regiment.

The *Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson,* under date of 18th June, 1777, records the appointment of Alexander McDonald to be Captain in the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment—in room of Lieutenant Brown who returned to the 31st Regiment—6th June, 1777. John McDonald to be Captain-Lieutenant in room of Captain-Lieutenant Hewetson—19th June, 1777. [P. 56.]

So the petitioner, Alexander Macdonell, in the Prisoners' List and in the *Orderly Book* as Alexander McDonald, and also John McDonald, the son of Allan McDonald, of the Prisoners at Philadelphia, who had promised to take "their motions" from General Schuyler, who permitted them to go to Johnstown on parole, had joined the British forces in Canada and been appointed officers. An explanatory note in the *Orderly Book* makes this clearer in stating that it was in March, 1777, they had been permitted by General Schuyler to pass his lines into Johnstown.

The record reads:

"Alexander McDonald and John McDonald were Tory Roman Catholics who, until the beginning of hostilities, had resided in the vicinity of Johnstown in the Mohawk Valley. Having been permitted by General Schuyler to revisit their families, they, in the month of March, 1777, again ran off to Canada taking with them the

residue of the Roman Catholic Scotch settlers together with some of the Loyalist Germans, their former neighbors."

That appears to mean that they had violated their parole and had instigated the "residue of the Roman Catholics," who had not gone with Sir John Johnson in May, 1776, and who had since been exposed to oppression by the Patriots, to abandon their homes and flee to Canada.

No evidence has been found in Pennsylvania records to show that any action was taken against the three prisoners or hostages who remained in Reading.

Did the two released "prisoners" and the "residue of the Roman Catholics" at Johnstown violate their paroles or pledges?

The charge was not made by any of the American authorities. It is not made by any American writer. Lieutenant-Colonel E. Cruikshank, an authority on the British side to whom the matter was submitted, writes us: "The Macdonells argued that they were liberated from their parole because they had learned that General Schuyler was taking measures to make them prisoners of war and deport them. The truth seems to be that Schuyler mistrusted the Macdonells and they mistrusted him. At all events they felt they were justified in running away. Schuyler certainly intended to release them from their parole before making them prisoners, but this looks like *sharp* practice."

This opinion coincides with my own, that these Highlanders were free of parole—that they have not been charged with its violation. Besides as they had, after Culloden, remained faithful to the oath not to make war against England and had everywhere in America resisted the overtures and endeavors of "the Rebels," on that account would not have violated their promises to these "Rebels," especially as in the case of the three held as hostages at Reading, their own friends would have been punished—which there is no evidence of.

American authorities agree that, notwithstanding the promises of the Scotch inhabitants at Johnstown, General Schuyler was about to "remove" them from the county, this in itself was a violation of agreement on his part and operated as a release of the pledged Scotch and was so understood by both, so that a formal release was not expected nor required. The two Macdonels best understood the situation, as they had come through Schuyler's lines

and doubtless were by him given to know that their parole and the pledge of the people were no longer thought as existing and binding.

But Sir John Johnson, who, in May, 1776, went to Canada, "regardless of his promise, broke his parole and accompanied by a large number of his tenants went to Montreal." The Provincial Congress of New York wrote Washington: "He hath shamefully broken his parole is evident." [Campbell's *Annals of Tryon Co.*, p. 59.]

Sir John Johnson on getting to Canada organized The Royal Greens; they wore green coats. The Greens, later in the year, joined the expedition under General St. Leger, who, in August, 1777, returned to the Mohawk Country and in conjunction with the Indians, endeavored to capture Fort Stanwix, the site of the present city of Rome. The Battle of Oriskany, "one of the bloodiest of the war," defeated the project.

The rear guard of St. Leger's expedition was Johnson's Royal Greens. It reached Fort Schuyler on August 3, 1777, when St. Leger issued a rather pompous proclamation, in which he denounced the "unnatural rebellion" as having made "the foundation of the completest system of tyranny that ever God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a forward and stubborn generation," and charging that "arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture, unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Roman church were among the palpable enormities that verified the affirmation." [*Ibid*, p. 170.]

This manifesto, however, produced no effect then or afterwards. [P. 171.] Yet the expedition had numbers of members of "the Roman church."

General Herkimer commanded at this battle. His brother, brother-in-law and nephew were Loyalists and then serving with the Indians. Herkimer was wounded in the early part of the contest, one of his legs being shattered by a rifle ball, but he would not leave the field but "sat on a stump with bullets flying about him with his pipe in his mouth giving orders." He died ten days afterwards. A memorial statue representing him sitting on the stump of a tree was, in August, 1907, erected on the field of conflict.

"In 1778 Alexander McDonald, who appears to have been a man of considerable enterprise and activity, collected a force of 300 Tories and Indians and fell with great fury upon the fortress, the

Dutch settlements of Schoharie, especially, feeling all his barbarity and exterminating rage."

Further corroboration:

"Early in May, 1777, the residue of the Roman Catholic settlers in the neighborhood of Johnstown ran off to Canada, together with some of the loyalist Germans—all headed by two men named McDonald who had been permitted by General Schuyler to visit their families. The fact of the wives and families of the absconding loyalists were holding communications with them and administering to their subsistence on the outskirts of the settlements, had suggested their arrest and removal to a place of safety, to the number of four hundred, a measure that was approved by General Herkimer and his officers." [Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign and St. Leger's Expedition,* p. 144.]

Thus there is agreement that there would have been a "removal" of the Highlanders from around about Johnstown. This becoming known at the time of the return of the two McDonalds—the hostages or prisoners—led the "residue of the Roman Catholics" to go to Canada instead of remaining to be removed "from the county" to "a place of safety," where they would be less liable to instigate the Indians or to ally themselves with them, as the Americans were seeking the alliance of the Indians for themselves. No evidence relating to the abrogation of the parole has been discovered.

All the Highlanders did not, in the exodus of 1776, abandon their homes near Johnstown. The families of those who took flight were left to the mercy of the Patriots—a tribute indeed to their clemency. The men remaining refused at all times to do military duty at the call of the Patriots. So Colonel Frederick Fisher, writing from Caughnawag, March 11, 1780, to Governor George Clinton, of New York, informed him "there is a number of Scotchmen inhabitants of this County living near Johnstown who have done no duty since the commencement of the present war; last week I ordered them all to appear in Johnstown in order to have them formed into a Company, but they positively refused to take up arms in defence of America. I would, therefore, request your Honour to let me know how I am to act further with them in this affair." [*Papers of Clinton,* V, 538.]

So it seems plain that the Scotch Catholic Highlanders of New York did as the Presbyterian Highlanders of North Carolina—refused to violate an oath not to take arms against the British govern-

ment. The "Patriots" regarded both as hostile forces and so would protect themselves from those whom they regarded as enemies, especially those who were Roman Catholics, against whose religion they began their revolt by vigorous denunciation.

The Presbyterian Highlanders of North Carolina were a strong force aiding the British and in an organized body. Their McDonalds were also held as prisoners in Philadelphia and Reading while their Catholic namesakes were in these places. Many of the Catholic Highlanders at Johnstown, New York, remained neutral during the war and as but one hundred and thirty of them were in the exodus and this body founded Glengarry it would appear that but an inconsiderable number could have entered into Johnson's Greens or joined St. Leger's expedition. All whether actives or neutrals were Loyalists because of their oath of non-hostility to England.

But those of New York were not driven away because of their religion but because they would not uphold the "Rebellion" and take the part of the Colonies. So they were regarded as hostile and treated as such, as were the Presbyterians of North Carolina.

COMMODORE BARRY

AND THE

SWORD OF JOHN PAUL JONES

The RESEARCHES has had several articles relating to the sword presented by the King of France to John Paul Jones. The purpose mainly being to show the error of the assertion that it had been bequeathed to Captain Richard Dale by Jones, when on his death-bed, as is related by Buell in his, so-called, "Life of John Paul Jones, the Founder of the American Navy."

The RESEARCHES has shown that Captain Dale received the sword by bequest of Commodore John Barry: that the Dale family knew that to be so, as the proof from Barry's will had been given them.

The RESEARCHES also stated that the tradition in the family of Robert Morris was that the sword was to go in succession to the head of the Navy and that, if true, would place it in possession of Admiral Dewey.

All this was clear to RESEARCHES. The unsolved was how Barry came to possess the sword of Jones. Lacking evidence, conjecture might suggest. The evidence we are glad to say has been discovered and made public by Charles Henry Hart, Esq., in a "History" of the sword read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, April 18, 1907, and printed in the Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2.

Mr. Hart in the "History" states that in the Society's Proceedings for previous year an illustration of the sword appeared with a note stating:

"By request, Mr. Richard Dale exhibited the sword presented by Louis XVI to John Paul Jones. . . . which at his death *passed by will,* to his chief officer, Richard Dale, in whose family it has since remained."

Then follows an interesting expert description of the handle and blade, concluding with A. C. Buell's adroit invention, to get around Jones's will, when he found that instrument did not contain a bequest of the sword to Dale, viz:

"Paul Jones while making his will, *orally bequeathed* this sword to Richard Dale, through the hands of Gouverneur Morris, who delivered it to Dale at the first opportunity. Jones's words of bequest were, 'I give this sword to Richard Dale, my good old Dick —because he did more than any other to help me win it.'"

This entire story, like almost everything in Buell's "*History,*" is a pure fabrication, cut out of the whole cloth, and a more impudent literary forgery was never committed than this one, which Buell emphasizes, by repeating three times in volume two, on pages 4, 319, and 332.

The truth is Paul Jones died rather suddenly, in Paris, on the 18th of July, 1792, and his will was quickly drawn up by Gouverneur Morris and executed the same day. By it Jones named his trusted friend "the Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia, my only testamentary executor"; and to Morris, as executor under the will, the title to the sword would legally pass. Morris evidently did not settle up Jones's estate, excepting as to one item, which is the first in "Schedule of the Property of Admiral John Paul Jones, as stated by him to me this 18th day of July, 1792," and signed by Gouverneur Morris, to wit: "Bank stock in the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, six thousand dollars with sundry dividends." Letters testamentary were not taken out by Morris, for some reason, impossible to tell after this lapse of time, but on the 8th of December, 1794, letters of administration on the estate of Paul Jones were granted to Morris, at Philadelphia, and a certified copy of the will in French, with a translation into English, was filed with it; and in Robert Morris Ledger, C. fo. 139 in his account with the "Heirs of John Paul Jones," the first entry is "1794. Dec. 13. Paid for translation of J. P. Jones Will and for taking out letters of Administration $8.00."

A few months after Paul Jones's death, his sister, Jane Taylor, repaired to Paris, from Scotland, and took possession of all of her brother's papers and personal effects, which she carried with her back to Dumfries; and the now famous sword, that had been presented by His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI, King of France, to the Scottish-American sailor, "was sent by Jones's heirs to his valued friend, Robert Morris, to whose favor he had owed his opportunities for distinguishing himself." The sword was transmitted to Morris through the hands of Thomas Pinckney, the American Minister to Great Britain, to whom Morris wrote, March 18,

1795, in acknowledgment: "I have in the first place to return you thanks for taking the trouble to forward the sword of the late Admiral Paul Jones, which came safe to hand and I have presented it to Commodore John Barry, the senior officer of the present American navy, who will never disgrace it."

Although not mentioned in this letter to Pinckney, the gift was only for Barry's life, in trust to descend in succession to "the senior officer," as Morris designates Barry in the letter to Pinckney, of the United States Navy for all time, so that to-day the sword of Jones should be in the possession of Admiral George Dewey.

But Barry disregarded this provision and bequeathed the sword, unconditionally, to "my good friend Capt. Richard Dale," who, two months before the date of Barry's will, had resigned his commission in the navy and therefore should never have received the sword of Jones, which has remained in the Dale family ever since.

From this it will be seen that Paul Jones *did not bequeath the sword to Dale,* as the publication of this society says he did, following the untrustworthy Buell, either by testament or orally, any more than he presented it to Barry, as claimed by Barry's biographer.

Dale received the sword from Barry, who had received it from Robert Morris, to whom it was sent by the heirs of Paul Jones.

The detailed and exact story of the disposition of the sword presented by Louis XVI to John Paul Jones, as here given, has, as far as I can find, never before been told and it is too important to be lost, although the general facts have been known to many students of history.

The annexed communication from Mr. Hart is additional confirmation of the "History" as presented above.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN, ESQ.

Dear Sir:—I have your letter requesting permission to republish my monograph on "The Sword Presented by Louis XVI to John Paul Jones," from the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, for June, 1907, where it appeared at the request of Professor Philip R. Alger, U. S. Navy, its editor, and which permission I am pleased to give you, provided you print with it this introductory communication.

You ask me, in your letter, if I do not "surmise," when I say "the gift was only for Barry's life." *I certainly do not surmise;*

many a man has been hung on less conclusive evidence. My first wife was Miss Nixon, great-granddaughter of Robert Morris, to whom the sword of Jones was sent by the heirs of Jones. She was adopted and brought up by her aunt, Miss Elizabeth Nixon, who was the granddaughter of Robert Morris, born in 1809 and died in 1890, and for twenty-one years, from 1869 until her death, Miss Nixon was a member of my household. She was likewise eighteen years of age when her grandmother, Mrs. Robert Morris, died, in 1827, but her mother, Mrs. Maria Nixon, daughter of Robert Morris, lived until 1852. Miss Nixon talked with me on the subject of Paul Jones's sword repeatedly, giving the history that she had received direct from her grandmother, the wife of Robert Morris, and continued by her mother, the daughter of Robert Morris, who knew it also from her father. The subject of the Paul Jones sword was one very near to the entire Morris family and was frequently a topic of conversation, owing to the retention of the sword by the Dale family, when the Morris family knew it should be in the possession of "the senior officer" of the United States Navy. Mrs. Morris was very averse to Mr. Morris giving the sword to anyone, she wanted to keep it in her own family as a precious memento of Jones; but Mr. Morris, with his broad views, felt that it was in the nature of an official gift from the Jones heirs to him and belonged to the Navy, so determined to give it to the Senior Officer in succession—to the office and not to the man—as Mackenzie wrote, in 1841, in his Life of Jones, "Mr. Morris gave this sword to the Navy of the United States. It was to be retained and worn by the senior officer and transmitted on his death to his successor."

Miss Nixon knew that the sword had been given to Barry as the Senior Officer at the time and had gone from Barry to Dale, but she thought Dale had received it from Barry, in succession, as the Senior Officer, and did not know the terms of Barry's bequest of the sword or that Dale, at the time he received it, was no longer an officer in the Navy, let alone the Senior Officer, and therefore was most severe in her denunciation of the Dale family for retaining the sword after Commodore Dale's death, when he had had possession of it, as she thought, as Senior Officer, a position Dale never held. That the trust imposed by Morris, when he presented the sword to Barry, to tansmit it to the Senior Officer in the Navy, was well known to the contemporary and succeeding generations, is

plainly shown by Mackenzie's stating it as he does, and likewise Redwood Fisher.

I should not be at all surprised if, among the Barry papers, there were a letter or other writing defining the trust; or that if the letter from Morris to the heirs of Jones, acknowledging the gift, could be found, it too would confirm the entailment of the sword in the Navy. If it were not the intention of Robert Morris, to give this most precious memorial of Paul Jones to the Nation, by entailing it to the Senior Officer in the Navy, there was no reason whatever for his not keeping it in his own family, as Mrs. Morris desired him to do. Nor is it at all likely he would have selected Barry as its recipient, had he not been at the time the Senior Officer. If Morris were making a personal gift, he would have been much more likely to have given it to Dale, who had such close relations with Jones, rather than to Barry, whose relations with Jones, if I am not mistaken, were anything but cordial.

I am faithfully,

CHAS. HENRY HART.

Mr. Hart, on July 19, 1907, in reply, wrote: "Do not for a moment think that I have any intention of imputing to Barry a wilful, intentional breach of trust in the matter of his bequest of the sword to Dale. His will was made *in extremis,* a few months before he died and his old brother sea-fighter Dale, who had fought with Jones, was in his mind and to him he gave Jones's sword without a thought of the condition that accompanied its presentation to him by Morris. Merely the common fallibility of human memory. That is all."

To that the only answer is that "the condition that accompanied the presentation to Barry by Morris" is only asserted and not proven. The only testimony of Morris is that he "*presented*" it to Barry who then considered it *his* and so bequeathed it to Dale. The "condition" may be a family tradition, but it wholly unsustains the assertion that Barry "disregarded" the alleged trust through forgetfulness of the "condition that accompanied its presentation." His will was made in February. He died in September. So forgetfulness could have been remedied if the alleged "condition" existed. So Barry bequeathed what was *his* by *presentation* by Morris. Mr. Hart's claim that the gift was "only for Barry's life" is not sustained, and by the evidence he presents wholly improbable.

"TARRING AND FEATHERING" BY THE AMERICAN REBELS ORIGINATED IN AVERSION TO POPERY.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN REBELLION TO THE YEAR 1776, IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

LONDON, March 1, 1781.

Sir:—

. . . . . .

The narrative runs thus:

When that nocturnal Meteor, *Popery,* burst in the British Hemisphere, by the influential Rays of that more luminous Body, the Reformation, it was dissipated into numberless Parts; and like the Convulsions of Nature, which generally occasion Confusion among Mankind, so this Shock, in the civil and ecclesiastical World split itself into a great Variety of Sects and produced an Anarchy of Sentiment: and no Wonder; since the emerging so suddenly from worse than Egyptian Darkness, the human Mind was not strong enough to bear so sudden a Flash of Light, and must necessarily grope about to feel the regular Path to walk in: besides, the greater Part of the People, when they had in some Degree recovered their Eyesight, and found their Shackles were knocked off, not being able to bear so sudden a Transition, indulged themselves in their own wanton Imaginations, and claimed the Priviledge of doing what was right in their own Eyes, without subjecting themselves to any Controul.

. . . . . .

[Egerton MSS. 2671, pp. 16-17.]

About this Time was invented the Art of Tarring and feathering, . . . I know no other Origin of this modern Punishment, by the Rabble, of their State Criminals, than this; namely, that the first Book that *New England* Children are taught to read in, is called the *New England Primer*—in the Front of it is depicted the *Pope,* stuck around with darts,—the Sight and Memory of this creates and keeps up an Aversion to Popery; and it had this Effect, untill the honorable Congress wrote to the *Popish Canadians,* that *God* and Nature had given them a Right to worship according to their Consciences: then indeed, they quelled their Aversions; and when the Congress went to Mass Worship, all Distinctions ceased—

before these, they uniformly practiced the exhibiting a Pageant on every *5th of November,* representing the *Pope* and the *Devil* upon a Stage; sometimes both of them tarred and feathered, but it was generally the Devil's Luck to be singular, untill he bought the Rabble off, to confer that Honor upon their fellow Men. This is the only Clue I can find to lead me to the Origin of this Invention.

. . . . . .

Popery Described in the "Origin of the Rebellion," by Oliver. [Egerton MSS. 2671, pp. 171-172. Library of Congress, Transcripts from British Museum.]

PATRIOTS DISPUTE ABOUT "POPERY" AND LET PRISONERS ESCAPE.

At noon on November 22, 1775, seventy-five of the Connecticut Light Horse with firelocks and fixed bayonets attacked the office of Rivington's *New York Gazette,* "destroyed the types and put a stop to the business," because of the contents of the paper being hostile to the American cause. [Am. Ar. 4-3, 1626.]

At that time there were two prisoners held under confinement at Foster Lewis' on the charge of "enlisting men for the Ministerial army at Boston." But on the night of November 23d they made their escape. James Taylor, John Kelly and others were the guards.

Many visitors and strangers visited the guardhouse during the night, among them "Isaac Herron, the watch maker." There was a general conversation "upon the subject of the times" carried on "and was very scurrilous as to the transaction of depriving Rivington of his types."

"Herron and Edwards met and 'disputed a considerable deal upon the conduct of the Ministry.' Meeks declared his belief that 'it was the intention of the Ministry to establish Popery in all the Dominions and that Popery was certainly the bottom of all their schemes.'"

Herron "denied this was the case," but Meeks "further observed of its being established in Canada." Herron replied that "he thought it was very right Popery should be established in Canada and, moreover, added that among the Roman Catholics in Ireland was also very right and he approved of it."

As "all the guard were against" Kelly, and Herron favored "Popery," both doubtless were Irish Catholics or "ought-to-be's."

CATHOLIC LOYALISTS OF THE REVOLUTION

Those of school-book historical knowledge are apt to believe that the people of the Colonies were a unit, almost, in favor of resisting by armed force the endeavors of King George and his Ministry; that but a small and that a very feeble minority were supporters of England and opponents of the Patriots; that the Tories or Loyalists represented those of a low grade of social significance or business status, and that the Patriots were animated by the highest motives of patriotism and love of liberty.

All this is but partially true and that to a very limited extent. The events of our own days show us that men of the loftiest patriotism disagree as to methods of political action. It was so in the days of the Revolution. For ten years prior to armed combat between hostile forces it may be said, to briefly epitomize the events of the decade, that unanimity was generally accorded to all the protests and endeavors against the Stamp Act and other obnoxious Acts of Legislature, but that as all demanded was not promptly given and entire submission by England accorded to these protests and remonstrances, the situation became more acute as time passed on—that affrays between the soldiers and people became more frequent and more violent.

But it may also be said that the great body of the people—"the plain people"—were not the active spirits in all these remonstrative actions, but that "the better sort"—the merchants and the professional men—were the leaders and the force. Irritation continuing, demonstrative hostile acts occurred from the arousing temper of the people.

Varied motives animated the populace in the different Colonies, as they became more active and began to discover how the agitation against England could be made to serve for their own betterment as inhabitants of the respective Colonies.

In Pennsylvania, as an illustration, it was the dissatisfaction of the Presbyterians, mainly with Pennsylvania's franchise law which, debarring suffrage to so many, moved these people to be so earnest in the agitation. They hoped that a change would be brought about. It is true that, what may be termed a natural hostility against England existed with them and to a great extent animated these "dissenters" but, however, navigation laws, taxes on tea, glass and such like hostile Acts of the British ministry, might appeal to the merchants, these had little direct effect upon the great body of the people. Speaking in a general way these they may be said not to have keenly felt or known. "It was because the provincial government would not grant these people (the Presbyterians) equal rights and equal opportunities that these dissatisfied people welcomed a national movement, under cover of which they might revolutionize their own colonial conditions." (Lincoln's *Rev. Move. in Pa.*, p. 54.) "The masses thought the Revolution would change their state of subjection to one of kingship." (*Ibid*, p. 78.)

Then, as more particularly concerning our subject of "Catholics and the Revolution," the testimony of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, is, that not only hostility to England's Acts but opposition to the oppression which the laws of the Province of Maryland imposed upon Catholics were his motives in taking part with the united Colonies. He and his brethren believed that political freedom from England would bring religious freedom to the Catholics of Maryland. So it did.

So in other Colonies the people in the early course of the agitation made their local Colony concerns the basis of their activity in the dispute.

England, noting that dissension was growing, looked to lately conquered Canada and its Catholic inhabitants as the source and force of a counteracting power against the Colonies in which the rebellious spirit was gaining the strength of an avalanche.

So to conciliate the conquered Canadians, the King and Ministry determined to grant religious, social and political concessions to the Canadians so as to hold more firmly than obedience to authority might, the clergy, and thereby to have their hearty support in controlling the people, the Quebec Act was passed by which the former right of the clergy, under old French laws, to tithes was restored.

Here then was a general—a universal "wrong"—which

aroused the Colonies unitedly and overshadowed, where it did not entirely destroy or suppress, all local causes of opposition.

The Protestant religion was in danger!

The King would organize the Catholic Canadians into an army and coming down upon the "Protestant" Colonies would overawe the people, exercise arbitrary powers and impose "Popery" upon all!

This aroused the dissenting ministers. They launched out sermon after sermon in defiance of this impious and insolent Act of the King and Ministry.

The guns were burnished up—the powder "kept dry" and off our Patriots marched, and suffered great distress and misery, to capture, or hold as neutral, the country they had but a few years before aided England in conquering from France—Canada.

Military reasons were assigned for this invasion of Canada by a people resisting wrong done them in their own colonies, but hostility to Catholicity moved the hearts of those we now delight to honor as "Patriots"—they would not let Canada be the recruiting ground of England to organize a hostile force against them and force Popery on them! Oh, no! They would get there quickly and hold it themselves.

And, strange to relate, these invaders were welcomed by the Canadians; they had been preceded by Addresses—the one of October 26, 1774, adopted by Congress, unctiously declared: "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such low-minded infirmities."

"Low-minded infirmities" indeed!

Yet Congress in its "Address to the People of England" declared the religion of these same Canadians "one fraught with impiety, bloodshed, rapine, murder and rebellion in every part of the world and had deluged England with blood." So they implored the King "for the honor of Almighty God whose pure religion our enemies are undermining" to repeal the Quebec Act which gave these Canadians the rights the Church had under the French.

It was, of course, not justice but policy which led the government to pass the Act; Lord Littleton, writing Lord Chatham, avowed the purpose to be: "to conciliate the affections of the

Canadians and thereby induce them to assist Administration to coerce America." [*Am. Ar.* 4-1, 952.]

All America hadn't the sense a London merchant had who wrote to his friend in Virginia cautioning him "against any strictures on the Roman Catholic religion, as it will be much more advantageous to you to conciliate the Canadians than to exasperate or rouse the people here; let us alone to do that." [*Am. Ar.* 4-1, 1105.]

Though welcomed, and even recruited, by the Canadians, these invaders from the "Protestant colonies" could not hold in abeyance their detestation of "Popery," but among the very people they almost relied on for sustenance and support was manifested that anti-Catholic spirit aroused by the Quebec Act in "the free Protestant Colonies." But retribution came. Justice was manifested. Destruction came upon the invaders—and Canada was free—from the "Rebels"—the *Bostonnais*. This faint recital of the situation in 1775-76 makes somewhat clearer the attitude of the Loyalist or Tory in contradistinction to that of the "Rebel" or Patriot.

While all America may, correctly, be said to have maintained the principle that "British liberty" should not be forfeited or lessened in any of the British colonies; that allegiance was due the King; that respectful remonstrances and appeals to His Most Gracious Majesty would suffice to obtain a redress of grievances, thousands did not sanction the "appeal to arms" by the Colonists, other thousands separated themselves from "the Rebels" after the Declaration of Independence and still other thousands renewed allegiance to Great Britain when "Popish" France became the ally of the Protestant "Rebels."

"There would probably not have been so many Loyalists if the patriots had not been under the necessity of seeking an alliance with France. It was generally admitted on all sides that independence was impossible without French assistance; and many of the Colonists could not endure the thought of begging assistance from the great Roman Catholic powers, the hereditary enemy of the English race, that had been fought for generations in Canada, and that being devoted to despotism would *never* really give independence, but would use the opportunity to inflict on America the worst form of colonialism and destroy the Protestant religion. [Fisher's *Struggles for Am. Ind.*, I, p. 249.]

"Among the loyalists the French alliance was regarded as a

horror and in infamy far worse than the Declaration of Independence. That Protestant colonists should ally themselves with the great Catholic monarchy, the ancient enemy of the Anglo-Saxon race, and ally themselves for the purpose of making war upon their own faithful and loving mother, England, was a depth of degradation to which, they declared, they had thought it impossible for Americans to descend. They saw in it nothing but ruin and the Romanizing of America under despotic government." [*Ibid,* II, 120.]

Opinions of leading enthusiasts among the Patriots, after the cessation of hostilities, differed as to the probable proportion of the inhabitants who were Loyalists. John Adams believed that one-third of the people were supporters of England. In the social position they occupied they exerted an influence greatly in excess of their numbers.

Many of the Loyalists were enrolled in the British army, sometimes by regiments designated Provincial Loyalists.

Sir Henry Clinton received a letter from Lord George Germain, Whitehall, 7th March, 1781, saying: "The American levies in the King's service are more than the whole of the enlisted troops in the service of Congress." [*His. MS. Comm.,* 5th Report, page 237, 1st column.]

Professor Flick, in *Loyalism in New York,* estimates that "at least 15,000 New York Loyalists joined the British army and 8,500 the navy." But here we must distinguish—that the several Colonies had their own organized force and also the militia for emergency calls, all apart from the Continentals whom we might, in our own day, term the Regular Army. Save the disjointed local abettors of England's cause the armed force of Great Britain was that of her organized regiments and battalions.

But, irrespective of agreement among investigators as to the number or proportion of Loyalists, it is unquestioned that they were a numerous body and of special social and professional import, whose loss to the country, after the cessation of hostilities, was indeed serious. But they were hated, and to great numbers were hideous in political and social circles. We can understand the vindictive spirit that prevailed after the Revolution had ceased by remembering the course of events towards the South after the close of the war between the States when Radicalism prevailed. Amid all the contention—unmoved by social influences or political belief

or obedience to the religious dogma—that to resist authority is to incur damnation, can it be truly said Catholics alone were unanimously and resolutely upholders of the Colonies? All sects were divided—even Presbyterians were among the Loyalists,—while Friends, by profession and principle averse to war, buckled on armor, took down the sword or gun and became warriors, preferring to be "disowned" rather than be faithless to the liberty they believed the right of the Colonies.

No! Catholics were not all Whigs or Patriots. Remembering the hostile spirit in the early days, the marvel now may be that any of the Catholics took sides with the Colonies. Those who did were wiser than they knew. If there be a God of Nations—as there is—Who rules men as but instruments of His Holy Will, can we pass as unhallowed the thought that He, knowing all, was but using the Patriots—Catholics and Protestants—to secure for His Church a foundation whereon its best work for mankind's eternal salvation should be manifested in a land where man's highest political freedom should be assured. Thus Church and Country would be co-operators—though distinct—for man's best betterment. Who can know?

May we not now, after all these years, believe, with Judge Drayton, Chief Justice of South Carolina, in his charge to the Grand Jury, 23d of April, 1776: "It is apparent that the Almighty Constructor of the Universe, having formed this Continent of materials to compose a State preëminent in the world, is now making use of the tyranny of the British rulers, as an instrument to fashion and arrange those materials, for the end for which, in His wisdom, he had formed them."

Yet Judge Drayton in declaring "the catalogue of our oppressions, continental and local, is enormous," numbered, "By establishing the Roman Catholic religion and an arbitrary government instead of the Protestant religion and a free government" as one of the "enormous oppressions" the colonists contended against.

And yet in our day we witness the "enormous" growth and force of that religion which the Colonists so vehemently protested against, the Catholics of Canada having restored to them the ancient rights and privileges which had been in operation prior to their conquest by England. They protested in fear that the next step would be to "impose Popery on the free Protestant colonies" and so "enslave America."

So be lenient in judgment towards the Loyalists.

The winning of American Independence and the securing for our Country that position which it was asserted she was entitled to hold, was an event of such magnitude and brought such wonderful good to the people of the earth, that the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore declared the Patriots were but instruments in the hands of Providence. It counselled parents to "teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own Country," declaring, "We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our Country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past."

Yet it is generally believed, as it has been frequently asserted, "there were no Catholic Tories."

No less an authority than that of the eminent Historian of the Church in this Country, Dr. John Gilmary Shea, has given the weight of his name to this declaration. He has said:

"The Catholics spontaneously, universally, and energetically gave their adhesion to the cause of America, and, when the time came, to American Independence. There was no faltering, no division. Every Catholic in the land was a Whig. In the list of Tories and Loyalists, in the volumes since written about them, you cannot find the name of a single Catholic. There were no Catholic Tories." [*Catholics and Catholicity in the Days of the American Revolution.*—Proceedings U. S. C. His. Soc. 1885, p. 20]

"There were no Tories, no falterers and final deserters among the Catholics; none to shout for Congress, while they carefully carried a British protection for emergencies. The Catholics were, to a man, with their clergy, staunch and true, which can be said of none of the sects." [Dr. John Gilmary Shea: *Am. Cath. Quar. Review,* Jan., 1876, p. 154.]

Every statement is an error. When we know "how Catholics had fared at the hands of their fellow colonists" and remember the deep anti-Catholic hostility to "Papists" in the early days of the Revolution, we regard it as a credit to those Catholics who were Tories rather than as an ignominy. Think of how they were reviled even in Pennsylvania where "alone their rights were recognized" by law and then think it possible that all would ally themselves with the haters of their faith. That is just as probable as that Catholics of our fathers' day did do so with the church burners of 1844, or the Know Nothings of later days, or Catholics of this generation with the A. P. A.

Then, apart from the religious aspect, but viewing the contest

politically, why should Catholics all have been on one side? Could none have honestly thought the demand of the Colonies unfounded in law or justice? Could none have honestly declined to be approvers of the many "outrages" which were committed and which were sought to be excused because "much must be pardoned the spirit of Liberty?" Were no Catholics subject to British official or personal influence and moved by no self-interest to take the side of Great Britain? If it is such a glory to have been "a Whig" that it is eternal infamy to have been a Loyalist, then the Catholics of Canada, who by the authority of the clergy were kept loyal, must now merit execration for their obedience, as many suffered excommunication for assisting "the Bostonnais."

"Liberty, Protestantism and the Constitution" being the rallying cry of the "Patriots," did no Catholics revolt at association with outcriers who howled: "Down with Popery and Slavery?"

No. Catholics were no more "spontaneously, universally and energetically" on the side of the Congress than they have unitedly been in any other social or political contest or in warfare in our country's history.

In 1777, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Prince Edward Augustus, brothers of George III, visited Pius VI and were received with honor (Life Pius VI. Artaud De Montor. Tr. by Dr. Neligan. Sadlier & Co., N. Y., 1866, p. 388). In 1778 the Catholic Relief Act passed. England was conciliating the clergy of Ireland. Pius VI believed "Monarchy the most natural form of Government" and that "the Populace follow no wisdom and no counsel and have no understanding of things." [Montor, p. 461.]

Cardinal York, an Englishman (called Duke of York), a kinsman of George III, had the nomination and appointment of Bishops in England and in Ireland. None are on record as favoring the Americans. Some of the Irish Bishops showed zeal in urging enlistments in British regiments. So did Father Arthur O'Leary especially. [Butler's *His. Men. Eng. Cath.*, Vol. IV, p. 90, and his own Address.] Bishop Milner, in a sermon, declared George III "the Sovereign of the hearts of his people." [*Gentleman's Mag.*, June, 1789.]

Junius, in letter of December 19th, 1769, said to the King, "You have all the Jacobites, non-jurors, *Roman Catholics* and Tories of this country and all Scotland without exception."

When Howe captured Philadelphia 118 Scotchmen opened stores in the city.

Philadelphia was the centre place of the Revolt, but the British Army was welcomed right gleefully by those who remained in the city. "Probably the largest number of Tories or Loyalists lived in Pennsylvania—a number so great that Timothy Pickering, a prominent officer in the army, described it as 'the enemies' country.'" [Tyler's *Literary History of Revolution,* I, 298.] Let us see if there were any "Catholic Tories" here.

Philadelphia was considered so loyal while the British were in possession (Sept., 1777-June, 1778) that Washington was urged to levy a contribution on it after its evacuation by the British, so marked had been its "loyalty."

The Catholic clergy did not take active steps in the patriotic cause—there is no known record of their doing or saying anything in its favor.

Father Robert Harding, whom Dr. Shea numbers among the Patriots of the Revolution as being "noted for his patriotism," died September 1, 1772, before the Revolution began.

Dr. Shea does not claim Fathers Farmer and Molyneux, who were here all through the war, as supporters of the claims of the Colonies. Father Harding was no more patriotic than all others in America in his time. All simply wanted "British Liberty." No one can be numbered among the Patriots who was not alive July 4th, 1776, and adhered to the Declaration. That made the Patriot. Nothing else did. No matter what views he had prior to that day, his decision then determined his character.

Father Harding's successor was Rev. Robert Molyneux. Not a line or word of his for or against the Revolution has ever been produced. When, in 1779, the Pennsylvania Assembly took away the charter of the College of Philadelphia and appointed Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, which it legalized instead of the College, it named "the Senior pastor of the Roman Church in Philadelphia" as the sixth Trustee, did Father Molyneux, as the "senior pastor," qualify? No. It was Father Farmer. He took the oath of allegiance and so became Trustee, not on account of his great abilities as Catholic "writers" declare, but simply because "the senior pastor" would not, for some reason which has not become known.

So much for the clergy: Let us see about the people.

On April 19, 1776, the city election was held—Christopher Marshall, who acted as Judge, says in his *Diary:* "I think it may be said with propriety that the Quakers, Papists, Church, Allen family with all the proprietory party were never so happily united as at this election."

No one will deny that the Quakers, the Church (Episcopalian) and the Allen family were Loyalists. Was Marshall wrong in including "Papists?"

From the examination of Isaac Atwood, comb maker [*Pa. Ar.*, 2d Ser., Vol. I, p. 613], we extract the following testimony against Catholic Philadelphians:

"Reynolds, the looking-glass maker, is quite against the cause, but does not attend the meetings" (of Loyalists secretly held). He was a son of one of the original purchasers of St. Mary's ground.

"Isaac Lort, late became Roman Catholic, told me that the Roman Catholics were generally against the American cause." [*Ibid,* p. 614, where name is given as "Lost."] He may not, however, have been a Loyalist, for he took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania, July 12, 1777—before the British came. John Lort, perhaps his father, was buried at Christ Church [Episcopal], March 23, 1774.

On April 4, 1777, the State Navy Board paid Lort £3.10 for supplies. His son Isaac, born October 22, 1778, was baptized the next day at St. Joseph's by Father Farmer, sponsors Joseph and Mary Greswold. He died October 26, 1818. Lort was in Philadelphia in 1781, as on April 8th, his son Joseph, born April 4th, was baptized by Father Farmer. Lort, on February 22, 1777, advertised: "Was lost on 19th inst. a pocket-book containing a Captain's commission, a map of New York and Long Island and some cash. Whoever has found it and will bring it to Isaac Lort, cryer, Strawberry Alley, may have the cash. Said Lort has a hanger found on the road to Darby." [*Gazette,* March 5, 1777.]

So Lort was honest and may have been a Patriot, though his testimony is that the Catholics of Philadelphia "were generally against the American cause."

Joseph Wirth was, in 1779, tried for high treason but was acquitted. He was a pew holder in St. Mary's.

When General Howe had possession of the city he appointed Brian O'Hara, a Catholic, one of the collectors of contributions for

the Almshouse. Would a "Rebel Sympathizer" have been? He was the co-purchaser with James Reynolds, of St. Mary's ground.

Howe appointed Michael Conner, one of the Managers of the Lottery for the poor. He was a known Loyalist.

Bernard Fearis was a Tory also and kept a portrait of George III in his house long after the Revolution had destroyed his authority here.

When the British occupied Philadelphia, Fearis & Lort were partners in the vendue business at the house of Fearis, on Arch Street, opposite the George Tavern.—[Pa. *Adver.*, Oct. 29, 1777.] Fearis was Librarian of the Philadelphia Library from June 24, 1779, to January 13, 1780. He died September 5, 1826, at 4.24 A.M. and is buried in Holy Trinity yard. He was in the 85th [?] year of his age. His wife, Hannah, died on February 20, 1826, aged 77, both are buried in Holy Trinity yard. He "was for many years a respectable merchant of this city," says his tombstone.

After the capture of the city by the British, Father Farmer called on General Howe, who proposed to him the formation of a Roman Catholic Regiment. Why? Was there not some Catholic loyal sentiment here as a foundation for the suggestion? Father Farmer was requested to become Chaplain. Here is his letter regarding it:

PHILADELPHIA, March 2, 1778.

REV. SIR:—Since your last which was, I believe, dated Aug. 25th, 1773, I had no opportunity of writing to you. Should I make any mistake in the date of your last I hope you will excuse me. The strange resolution with regard to the *quondam* society and the dreadful consequences of such a civil war are enough to make me forget everything else, however dear.

I missed your literary correspondence very much, as I wanted to know how matters lately stood with regard to the Society, for though since last October our correspondence with Europe is opened again, yet I have not been able to hear anything concerning it that I could depend on. Perhaps it will please you to hear that your British General when arriving here, upon my waiting on him, proposed the raising of a regiment of Roman Catholick Volunteers. Mr. Clifton, an English gentleman of an Irish mother, is the Lt. Colonel and commanding of it. They desire me to be their Chaplain, which embarrasseth me on account of my age and several other reasons.

The rest of the letter speaks of a small sum of money left him for charitable purposes, and of his desire to be allowed to spend the few remaining years of his life working for his little flock. The letter is addressed to a priest in London and signed by Father Farmer.—[*Woodstock Letters,* 1886.]

Alfred Clifton and Rev. Robert Harding were among the founders of the Sons of St. George on April 23, 1772, at Patrick Byrne's Tavern on Front Street below Walnut. The Sons still exist.

The attempt to raise this Regiment, we are told, was an "utter failure." True, but not by reason of the Whiggery of the Catholics. The other Loyalist Regiments attempted by Howe were also "utter failures."

General Howe in his *Narrative,* appended to "*Observations on a Pamphlet*" (by Joseph Galloway), pp. 51-3, says: That on his taking possession of Philadelphia, he appointed William Allen, Mr. Chambers and "Mr. Clifton, the chief of the Roman Catholic persuasion of whom they were said to be many in Philadelphia, as well as in the Rebel army serving against their inclinations" to "receive and form for service all the well affected that could be obtained. And what was the result? In May when I left America, Col. Allen had raised only 152, rank and file, Col. Chambers 336 and Col. Clifton 180."

So here were 180 "Catholic Tories" banded together as "well affected" towards British power.

During the occupation one of the recruiting stations for Loyalist Regiments, was at Patrick Tonry's, three doors above Market, in Second Street, where Capt. Kearney of Col. Allen's Regiment of Loyalists had his rendezvous. He promised every recruit after the war "50 acres of land to which every gallant hero may retire and enjoy his bottle and his lass."—A promise he was not able to make good.

Tonry's name may be found in St. Joseph's Marriage Register October 30, 1775, as witness to the marriage of Andrew Gallagher and Johanna Shannon. Kearney's on January 19, 1772.

The officers of the Regiment were, Alfred Clifton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Lynch, Major, and Captains Mathias Hanley, Nicholas Wiergan and Thomas Yelverton, Martin McEvoy and John McKinnon. Lieutenants, John Peter Eck, John Neill and Patrick Kane; Quartermaster, John Nowland.

Dr. John Gilmary Shea (Vol. II, p. 169) says: "As no Roman

Catholic could hold a commission under English law, the officers were, of course, Protestants."

"Of course" they were not, law or no law. When England got into trouble, law did not prevent her from getting Catholic help—officers as well as privates. The Commanding officer was Protestant. His subordinates could be Catholics. The History of the Regiment is given in Volume I.

"Our brethren may now serve in the army" was one of the reasons Pius VI had, for, afterwards, declaring the authority of George III, "as full of mildness to Catholics," and for which he was "the best of sovereigns" and for which this "beneficent monarch" had "shown his goodness" and towards whom he inculcated "obedience."—[Montor, p. 474.]

But in America, Catholics were officers prior to the permissive law passed for the Catholics of Ireland. It was so in Philadelphia and also among the Royal Scotch Catholics of the Mohawk Valley.

Col. Clifton, "an English gentleman of an Irish mother," as Father Farmer described him, was Alfred Clifton. His is a name which will be found in a "list of Tories and Loyalists in a volume written about them." Sabine's *Loyalists* says, erroneously however, "he resided in either Delaware or Maryland and was a prominent member of his religious community" (p. 214).

Sabine's Sketches of *Loyalists* (Vol. II, p. 496) gives his name as Arthur and that "his success does not appear to have been great in inducing his Countrymen to bear arms on the side of the Crown."

He resided in Philadelphia and, before the British had evacuated Philadelphia, he was, on May 8, 1778, proclaimed as "a traitor" and ordered to surrender before June 25th. He, however, went off with The Roman Catholic Battalion as narrated in volume I. So did 3000 citizens who would not trust themselves to the Americans.

Clifton was, however, a resident of Philadelphia. His name appears on St. Joseph's Registers on February 1, 1773, and on August 9, 1774, on July 3, 1775, August 12, 1777, and November 15, 1777, either as witness to a marriage or sponsor in Baptism.

He does not appear to have been a man of property as no evidence thereof has been found in the Recorder's office.

Major John Lynch was a Catholic. On August 13, 1777, about a month before the British took the city, his son John, born June 8th, was baptized. The male sponsor was Alfred Clifton. Thus they

are proven to have been intimate friends. Mary Barrett was sponsor with Clifton. On May 27th following (British still in city), Mary Barrett's son Edward, born in February, was baptized and John O'Neill [Lieutenant] was a sponsor.

Lieutenant Eck was of a Catholic family, numerous records of which may be found in the old Registers.

John Nowland too was a Catholic as information from a Protestant descendant assures us.

Concerning Lieutenant Kane, the *Pennsylvania Archives* record in 1779:

"The town major brought before the Council Patrick Keane, Lieut., of the Roman Catholic Regiment of Volunteers in the British service and he being examined it was ordered that Col. Nichola be desired to closely observe the conduct of Lieutenant Keane."

Keane may have shown the Council of Safety that the Regiment had been "an utter failure," that he was now an adherent of the "rebel" cause and thus was permitted to remain in Philadelphia under the eye of the Marshal.

During British occupancy, those in business signed an agreement "to take Colonial money issued prior to the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned by the King," in lieu of gold and silver which had become scarce. Among the signers were the following known as Catholics: Roger Flahavan (afterwards father-in-law of Mathew Carey and of Mark Willcox), Wm. Hussey, Isaac Lort, Sweetman, Shortalls & Mullin (Richard Sweetman was a Catholic), Bryan O'Hara (one of the original purchasers of St. Mary's ground), Michael Connor, Tobias Rudolph, James Byrne, Stephen Bardin, Patrick Hogan, Geo. Connell, Christopher Pechin, Patrick Hartshorn, James Reynolds, Christian Rudolph, Timothy Carrell and Redmond Byrne.

All this time Washington was at Valley Forge, his army nearly starving, almost naked but hopeful. Philadelphians were "fraternizing and jubilating with the British."

As the Supreme Executive Council had, as early as November, 1776, urged citizens to remove their wives and children to places of safety we may conclude that those who remained and welcomed so gladly the entry of the British army had not the patriotism now so honored. George Meade and Thomas FitzSimons, known Patriots, were not in the city.

Michael Connor is another Catholic whose name will be found

on the *Black-List* of Tories published in 1802. And also in Sabine's *Loyalists* (p. 489) and whose estate was confiscated. He was married to Mary Cottringer January 9, 1774. Thomas FitzSimons and wife, witnesses. His son John was born February 19, 1776, and was baptized March 5, 1777.

He died without issue; ending the male line of this family. He was also known as O'Connor.

Here are names of Catholics which will be found in Sabine's *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution.*

John Bray of Philadelphia. Schoolmaster. Attainted of treason and estate confiscated (p. 484). His son John, born September 12, 1777, was baptized the same day. (Records A. C. H. S. II, p. 243.)

James Talbot of Philadelphia and John of Chester Co., Pa., attainted of Treason and property confiscated. Sabine 585. *Records* 242. The James Talbert of Father Farmer's *Register of Marriages* for May 14, 1778, may be the same one.

Here are names from Sabine we believe to have been Catholics of Philadelphia and vicinity: Jas. Conway, Michael Corkney, James Cromley or Crowley, Anthony Dougherty, Patrick Garvey, Edw. Hanlon, Patrick Mooney, James Welsh, Michael Dougherty, Patrick Haggerty.

There were thousands of Tories for every name given on the lists of Tories. Pennsylvania attainted but 62 and confiscated estate of but 36 Tories [Ryerson II, 132].

John McGuire [wife Margaret Tuite], of Brandywine, Del., was a Catholic and a Loyalist, who "was hunted out by over zealous Whigs," as Dr. Shea himself records in *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,* p. 143. Here is the proof of loyalty transcribed from the register of St. Peter's Church, Wilmington, Del.

"Rev. Mr. McGuire's father, John McGuire, lived before the Revolution near Chester Co. poor house, Brandywine, and withdrew from there with the British on their retreat. John McGuire's brother Andrew settled in Londonderry township, Chester Co., about 15 years ago, and left issue James, John, George, Mary, Susan, all living in same place, first cousins to the above Rev. Mr. McGuire of Quebec.

(Dated and signed.) "June 1st, 1823. PATRICK KENNY."

(*Records American Cath. His. Soc. of Philadelphia,* Vol. I, p. 370. Copied October 20, 1885, by V. Rev. Thos. C. Middleton, O.S.A.)

It is probable that Londonderry Township was the original settlement of the family, as Thomas Maguire, who died in 1771, is buried in the graveyard, now of St. Malachy's Church at Doe Run, Chester Co. [*U. S. C. H. Mag.,* I, 305.]

In the Proceedings of the Loyalist Commissioners at Halifax, 1786, a John McGuire was witness for John Rankin, of York Co., Pa., who had 93 acres at Newburg, York Co., which was confiscated. For it and stock and furniture he claimed recompense. McGuire testified he had "not a doubt of his loyalty." [Report, *Archives* Province of Halifax, Part I, p. 112.]

John McGuire's son Thomas was one of the most distinguished priests of the Canadian clergy. [Abbé Lindsay.] He was for a long time chaplain of the Ursulines in Quebec. He visited Philadelphia during the Episcopate of Bishop Conwell who presented him with a copy of *The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church,* which Thomas Lloyd had reprinted in 1789. The book is now in possession of Abbé Lindsay of the Quebec Cathedral. It contains this record in Latin: Given to me by the Rt. Reverend Bishop Conwell, of Philadelphia, on my passage through that city, October, 1822 (or 1823.) It is most probably 1823, the year Father Kenny made the record in the register and after the visit of Father McGuire to the former home of his parents.

Canadian accounts say Father McGuire was born in Halifax, "about 1776," but Dr. Shea gives Philadelphia, May 9, 1776, as the place and time, and probably correctly so. He was ordained Priest in 1800. In 1820 he was appointed Bishop *in partibus,* Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, but declined it. [*Appleton's Biography,* IV, 175.] He died in Quebec in 1854.

Joseph Greswold (distiller) is another Philadelphia Catholic whose name is included in list of Tories.

He was married February 1, 1773, to Mary Fletcher. The only witnesses were Alfred Clifton and Isaac Laud [Lort] both Loyalists. Greswold remained in city after evacuation and on October 23, 1778, was sponsor for Isaac, son of Isaac Lort. [Records A. C. H. S., II, 292.] Isaac Lort, Jr., died October 26, 1818, aged 40 years and 4 days. [Records A. C. H. S., III, 275.]

Sabine's *Loyalists* (p. 338) says Joseph Greiswold, Merchant. In 1780 he was detected in keeping up an illicit trade with the royal forces and committed to prison in Philadelphia.

Edw. Mahany may have been a Loyalist. Lieutenant-Colonel

Alfred Clifton was sponsor for his son Edward, born November 10th and baptized November 15th, 1777, while the British were in Philadelphia. [Records II, 245.]

A Lawrence Fegan is named as a Tory. The name Fegan is on the Baptismal register December 8, 1777. He was an innkeeper in the Northern Liberties.

On November 25, 1776, a meeting of citizens was held at the Indian Queen Hotel to consider accusations against those "suspected as Tories and unfriendly to the cause of America." Captain John Barry was among those present and the only one known to us to be a Catholic.

Joseph Stansbury being accused, Daniel Smith testified that when Stansbury sang on October 15, 1775, "God Save the King," among those who were at his house and sang chorus was Mr. Connor, Mr. Lynch and W. Clifton [*Pa. Arch.*, VI, p. 24.] Wm. Clifton was probably the brother of Alfred. He was among those who in 1778 were ordered to appear before the Supreme Executive Council. He did so and was discharged. Mr. Connor most likely was Michael Connor, later attainted and estate confiscated. Mr. Lynch was, probably, John Lynch who became Major in the Roman Catholic Regiment.

Dennis Dougherty is on *The Black List.* On November 10, 1776, he was sponsor for James, son of Bryan O'Hara. When the British took possession of the city he advertised in Pennsylvania *Ledger,* that owing to the "present unfortunate dispute" he had not been in "business for two years," but had resumed in Water Street the sale of rum, sugar, snuff, etc.

On November 22, 1768, Dougherty was witness with John Gatringer [Cottringer] to marriage of Joseph Cauffman and Mary Barbara Butler, widow of Captain Butler.

He was also a witness to the marriage of James Welsh (widower) to Honora Mellarkey on July 4th, 1776. The name of James Welsh of Brandywine, Delaware, is on list of Loyalists. In 1778 he was required to surrender and be tried for treason or lose his estate. [Sabine, p. 678.]

Joseph Cauffman, a prominent Catholic, was a Loyalist, but his son Joseph Theophulus was Surgeon on the U. S. frigate "Randolph," which was blown up in an engagement with the "Yarmouth," 74 guns, off Barbadoes, on March 7, 1778. [Cauffman Genealogy.]

The "Randolph" was "the first American frigate that got out to sea," wrote Robert Morris to Captain Biddle, February 15, 1777. "So it is expected that you will contend warmly on all necessary occasions for the honour of the American flag." [*MSS. Letter Book Marine Committee,* p. 56, Library Congress.] Here it may again be asked: What was the American flag, February, 1777? The Stars and Stripes was not adopted until June 14th the same year.

John Campbell is a Tory name. The name is on the church register for April 14, 1778 and August 31st.

He was tried in 1778 on the charge of supplying the royal troops with provisions, and found guilty. For this offence he was sentenced to be confined at hard work for one month. At a later time in the same year, he was ordered by proclamation to appear and take his trial for treason within a specified day, on pain of being attainted. [Sabine.]

Sarah Stormont may be classed as a Tory, as she married Thomas Sullivan, "a soldier of the 49th Regt.," on December 13, 1777. So was Ann Allen who, on March 12, 1778, married Robert Rollo, "substitute in — Regiment." Also Catharine Viel who, on May 5, 1778, married Ignatius Schmeider of Vienna, in Austria, of the 18th [Hessian] Regiment. These records are on Marriage register at Old St. Joseph's.

George Spangler is on the list of Loyalists. On April 15, 1775, a marriage license was issued for George Spangler and Catharine Schreiner. On January 1st Spangler was sponsor for Catharine Graff, born that day. On March 26, 1776, Mary Catharine, daughter of George Spangler, was baptized by Father Farmer, but the mother's name is recorded as Mary.

On September 11, 1776, the Committee of Safety paid George Spangler seven shillings and six pence for going express to Germantown. In July, 1776, he was sent to York, Pa., with ten prisoners, Hugh Morrison, William McLean, David Caldwell, Walter Goodfellow, Roderick McDonald, John Murray, Donald McLeod, John McEver, Angus Cameron and John McEchan. They belonged to Captain Campbell's Company of a British regiment, of which Lieutenant Symn-West and fourteen men had been in the Philadelphia jail since February 18, 1776, and having sent a petition to the Committee of Safety for "some kind of an enlargement from this gaol," those named above were sent to York under

Spangler's conduct. All except Cameron and McEchan were delivered to Thomas Armor, Clerk of the Committee of York, but he certified that the two had crossed the Susquehanna River on Sunday at four in the afternoon but had not yet come up. On June 26, 1777, George Spangler took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania. Then he made application to the Navy Board to make gun carriages. [*Pa. Ar.*, I, 508.]

On April 16, 1778, George Spangler, born April 4th, was baptized and Anthony Graff was again sponsor. The British were then in Philadelphia.

On June 18, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia. A month later—July 18th—Fred. Varner and George Spangler were tried by Court Martial for acting as spies and guides to the British army [*Pa. Post*, Aug. 4]. Spangler was, on August 14th, executed on the Commons, now the site of the City Hall. Varner or Vernon's execution was "put off for a few days," but no record has been discovered to show that he was executed. Carlile and Roberts, Quakers, were executed for aiding the British notwithstanding strenuous endeavors of many foremost Patriots to save their lives.

Drinker's *Journal* records, August 14, 1778: "One George Spangler was executed this day for some assistance given the British army. He has left a wife and several children."

John Tolly is a Loyalist name. His slave, John, born September 11, 1777, was baptized January 19, 1778. A six months old "black slave of Catharine Tolly" was baptized October 7, 1776. He lived in Southwark and his estate was confiscated in 1779.

While the British were in Philadelphia they were anxious to show that the "rebels" could not get nor expect aid from France. On December 25, 1777, Captain Patrick Barry made oath that when he left Bordeaux in August the American schooner "Liberty" had been seized by the French for having military stores. Captain Mark Cullen also made oath that he left in October when the American brig "Seaflower" had been stopped. These two may as well be counted as Catholics as they undoubtedly were Loyalists.

Captain Patrick Barry was a relative of Captain John Barry who administered to Patrick's estate in 1781. Commodore Barry's nephew, Patrick Hayes, was evidently named after the Loyalist Captain, who was willing to aid the British in their endeavor to prove to the Colonists that help from France would not be given. And yet just at that very time the alliance between the United

States and France was being arranged. On February 6, 1778, it was signed while Washington's army, at Valley Forge, was suffering for food and clothing. This caused many to desert to the British in Philadelphia where at least food could be supplied. The British *Pennsylvania Journal* at this time declared deserters were coming into Philadelphia, bringing deplorable accounts of the condition of the "rebels" which was "enough to make the most hardened heart feel," as they were "without shoes, stockings and indeed clothing of any kind, sick, without medicine and ready to perish."

Incidentally may here be given the records of those with Irish-Catholic names who are mentioned as having been punished by Courts-Martial while the British were in occupation of Philadelphia:

On September 29, 1777, at Germantown, Nicholas Kerney, private of the Queen's Rangers, was executed for desertion. [Kemble Papers, *N. Y. His. Soc. Col.*, 1883, p. 506.]

On October 7, 1777, John McKee, private of 23d Regiment, was executed for "having held correspondence with, and bearing arms in, Rebel army." [*Ibid,* 511.]

Martin Hurley, "for desertion and bearing arms in Rebel army," executed October 8th. [*Ibid,* 514.]

McKee and Hurley evidently were captured in the Battle of Germantown, October 4th, speedily tried and executed.

On April 6, 1778, John McMahon, of the Royal Artillery, convicted of desertion, was given "one thousand lashes on the bare back." [*Ibid,* 565.]

James O'Brien, tried March 14, 1778, for "concealing a deserter from the ship 'Zelva,'" was given five hundred lashes and sent on board of a ship of war." [*Ibid,* 555.]

On March 26, 1778, Richard Donnegan, of the Royal Artillery, was tried for "desertion and bearing arms in the Rebel army." Sentenced to receive one thousand lashes. [*Ibid,* 561.]

IRISH HESSIANS.

There were two known officers of Hessian regiments who had Irish-Catholic names. Captain Laurentius O'Connel was Adjutant to General Riedsel, the Hessian General. In June, 1778, he was permitted to return to Europe on parole. Riedsel sent by him his despatches to the Court, and the flags he had saved. These flags the Captain left in Rhode Island. Captain O'Connel died in 1819,

as a pensioned Lieutenant-Colonel, in Ireland. [Stone's *Letters of Hessian Officers,* p. 171, note.]

Lieutenant Lawrence De Lahunty, of the Hessians. Colonel Von Donop, in writing to General Grant from Bordentown, N. J., December 18, 1776, said: "Lieutenant Delahunty is quartered in a house in the country two miles from here, because his wife is sick." [Stryker's *Trenton and Princeton,* p. 325.]

In the Trenton campaign this Irish Hessian was captured and sent to Lancaster, Pa., where he was reported April 15, 1776. [*2d Pa. Ar.,* I.]

JOHN FITZGERALD, UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST.

Adolphustown, Ontario, Canada, was surveyed in 1783 and first settled June 16, 1784, by Major Vanalstine's band of United Empire Loyalists. These were Loyalists who left the United States after the war. Many of the settlers came from Duchess County, New York. Among them was John Fitzgerald of Irish origin and is said to have been the only Roman Catholic among the Adolphustown pioneers. He was unmarried. He drew a lot next to Joseph Allison and in 1801 gave Allison power of attorney to secure his necessary titles, but it is said he died before they were properly made out. The old paper still exists but is much mice eaten. That is about all that is known of him. [Appendix to Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, 1897, p. 62.] His name appears in the List of Inhabitants for the years 1794-5-6-7-8-9. It is not in the List of 1800 made March 26th. So he probably was dead by that time.

"Most of the United Empire Loyalists who settled around Niagara and on the Bay of Quinte were Protestants. In Sir John Johnson's Royal New York Regiment were a large number of Scottish soldiers, most of them Protestants but some Catholics. The former settled on the St. Lawrence in the counties of Stormont and Dundas; the Catholics made a small settlement in Glengarry. Soon after came a large accession to their numbers, the Glengarry Fencibles with their gallant and devoted leader, Father Macdonnell, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada." [From *The Romance of Ontario,* in Appendix to the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, 1897, p. 129.]

Those who wish to know more about the Loyalists will find

information in Sabine's *Sketches of the American Loyalists* and in Ryerson's *Loyalists and their Times.*

PATRICK M'MULLEN.

Worse than a Hessian was Patrick McMullen. The Proceedings of Congress for August 12, 1778, record: "A Petition from Patrick McMullen was read: *Ordered* to lie on the table." On August 15th "A letter, of this day, from Major-General Arnold was read, which letter was accompanied with the proceedings and sentence of a general court-martial, on Adjutant Wallace, Patrick McMullen and Henry Love" and sets forth that "as the evidence against the two former is in his opinion insufficient to touch their lives and as there are several circumstances in favor of the latter he recommended them to Congress as proper objects of mercy." Whereupon Congress ordered that the letter as relates to Wallace, McMullen and Love be referred to a Committee of Three: Henry Marchant (Mass.), James Smith (Pa.) and John Harvie (Virginia).

On August 29th the Committee reported that "in their opinion, the evidence against Patrick McMullen is sufficient, together with his own confession, to convict him of the desertion, being the crime charged against him: that the court-martial which tried him certified to the General that the said Patrick McMullen is a person of the most atrocious character." Whereupon Congress resolved that General Arnold be informed that Congress do not see cause to remit the sentence passed by the court-martial on Patrick McMullen.

"That Adjutant Wallace and Henry Love, upon the circumstances attending their particular cases, and the recommendation of them by General Arnold to the mercy of Congress, be and they are hereby pardoned." [*Papers, Congress, No. 19,* Vol. VI, 145.]

McMullen was executed on September 4, 1778, on the Common now the site of City Hall. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of that date reported:

"This day Patrick McMullen was executed upon the Commons of this city. He was a deserter from the British and had deserted from several Continental regiments. He was so hardened and insensible to his unhappy situation that when the executioner put the rope about his neck, he smiled and said it was strong enough to hang any man, and behaved with the same unaccountable indifference to the last moment."

CHARLES DE LANGLADE, THE FOUNDER AND FATHER OF WISCONSIN—A LOYALIST: "A MILITARY CONQUEROR."

Charles Michel de Langlade, son of Augusti, was born in France, served in French army and emigrated to Canada.

Charles was born at Mackinaw, near the beginning of May, 1724. In 1745 he and his father removed to Bay des Puants now known as Green Bay. He was engaged in war with the Indians and commanded the inhabitants of Green Bay. In the war between France and England for Canada, Langlade led a party of Indians who opposed the English at Fort Duquesne in 1755.

After the War had ended by the cession of Canada to England, Langlade became a loyal British subject.

When Revolution broke out Langlade was 46 years old. Aubrey, an officer of General Burgoyne's army, wrote in 1777 from the borders of Lake Champlain that Langlade "is the person who, at the head of the tribe which he now commands, planned and executed the defeat of General Braddock."

Burgoyne also in a letter to Lord George Germain from Skenerborough, July 11, 1777, also declared Langlade "the very man who with these tribes projected and executed Braddock's defeat."

A memoir of Langlade is given in Vol. VII of *Wisconsin Historical Collections.* Our purpose relates to his course during the Revolution.

"After having nobly defended the French flag, he remained equally faithful to the English crown. He took part in 99 battles and skirmishes and although in the evening of life he expressed a lively desire to go once more under fire in order to make the number 100.

"He was one of the most intrepid pioneers of the West. This secured him a recognition in bestowing on him the glorious title 'The Founder and Father of Wisconsin.'"

"His services to the English cause during the Revolutionary War had been appreciated to secure him a life annuity of $800 besides three thousand acres of land on the borders of the River Thames—then known under the name of La Trenche, in the Province of Ontario."—[*Wis. His. Soc. Col.,* VII, p. 182.]

He died in January, 1800. "The little colony at Green Bay went in a body to weep over his grave which may still be seen in the old cemetery of the town." [p. 184.]

Langlade was by the Indians called A Military Conqueror. Like his father he always showed himself a submissive child of the Catholic Church, always giving every possible assistance to the intrepid missionaries who, from time to time, went to proclaim the Gospel to the Canadians, half breed and Indians, in this far distant region. When he wore his British scarlet uniform, his hat and sword and a red morocco belt, his appearance was as becoming as it was warlike —[Page 185 Vol. VII, *Wis. His. Soc. Col.*]

THE FRENCH INHABITANTS OF DETROIT REFUSE TO OPPOSE AMERICANS, 1776.

Colonel George Morgan, Agent of Congress for Indian Affairs, on December 12, 1776, describes the British fort at Detroit, the size of the garrison and the naval force on Lake Erie. The inhabitants were Catholics. He relates:

"The Garrison constantly alarm'd with Indian News of great Armies coming from the United States to attack Detroit—Indian Runners well paid for bringing the intelligence. The French inhabitants of the Town having refus'd to turn out upon an alarm, one of the arm'd Vessels was ordered into the Stream to cannonade their Houses,—many of them taken Prisoners and forc'd on board the arm'd Vessels—some of them in attempting to make their escape were fir'd on by the Garrison, two only were taken, the rest made their escape to a French Settlement on the Wabash. The Inhabitants forc'd to dig the Ditch round the Fort.

"In the Block House which lately fell down on firing a single round for Capt. Foster's Victory at the Cedars, are six Cannon suppos'd to be nine or twelve pounders—the Block House since repair'd; two Cannon front the River, two the Road, & two the Commons; this Block House is built of square Logs, with stairs on the outside next the Fort. . . .

"The Militia of Detroit is composed of one Company of English, and two of French—the English about 50 Men & the French about 100 Men; the first commanded by Capt. James Sterling & the latter by Monsr. St. John & Masonville, most of whom turn'd out to Exercise with great reluctance during the Alarms."

[Anderson, November 25, 1907.]

CATHOLIC OFFICERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

Here is a record of a few of the army officers who were Catholics. Others will appear later. It is difficult to discover the religion of those engaged on either side, in the Revolution. Countless many Catholics were engaged of whom there is no known evidence to tell of their Faith, but those herewith reported are so classed on satisfying conditions.

SERGEANT ANDREW WALLACE, A SCOTCH CATHOLIC SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF THE INDIAN WARS.

Andrew Wallace was of Colonel Francis Johnston's Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment to which he had been transferred from the Fourth Battalion. Colonel Johnston in 1796 contributed $20 to the fund for the erection of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, to which General Washington, November 25, 1796, contributed $50.

Sergeant Wallace was a Pennsylvania pensioner in 1813 and no doubt later. He, in 1820, resided in Chester County, Pa. [*Pa. Ar.*, I, 574, B. & L.]

His career is narrated in the following recitals:

The Record Division of the Bureau of Pensions, Washington, reports:

In reply to your letter dated the 3d and received the 4th instant, you are advised that from the papers in the claim Sur. File No. 3466, it appears that Andrew Wallace was a soldier before, during and since the Revolutionary War for 29 years, his services prior to the Revolution are not stated. In April, 1776, he enlisted at Turk's Head, Chester County, Pennsylvania, was afterwards a Sergeant in Captain Church's company under Colonel Anthony Wayne, and continued as Sergeant till the end of the war. He was at the battles of Three Rivers, Iron Hills, Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown and Monmouth; at the storming of Stony Point under Lieutenant Knox of Captain Grant's company, Ninth Regiment; at the battles of Camden, Eutaw and Cowpens under Colonel Stuart; and at the siege of York under Captain Davis of Colonel Washington's Troop.

He again entered the service in 1785, 1786, and in 1791 was in Saint Clair's defeat and in General Wayne's battle of August 20, 1794, under Captain I. Kingsberry. He also served as Sergeant in Captain William Piatt's company, Colonel Thomas H. Cushing's Second U. S. Infantry, from which he was discharged for disability at New Orleans, April 8, 1811, for which he was pensioned from April 8, 1811.

He was also allowed pension for his services in the Revolution, on an application executed in Washington, District of Columbia, on March 30, 1833, at which time he was 103 years old. He died in New York on January 22, 1835, place of burial not stated, leaving a widow Anna who then lived at Upper Oxford, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Very respectfully,

V. WARNER,
Commissioner.

A VETERAN PENSIONER.

From the *Washington Globe,* reprinted in Hazard's *Register,* Vol. XI, 223, April, 1833:

Among the applicants for pensions there is at present in the city, a venerable soldier from Chester County, Pennsylvania, who is in the 104th year of his age. His name is Andrew Wallace; he was born at Inverness, Scotland, on the 14th of March, 1730, and arrived in America in 1752. He retains a fine intelligent countenance and a full possession of his faculties, although his body shakes continually with paralysis. It seems that this individual followed the profession of arms through life from predilection, but without the slightest ambition.

Although always steady, temperate and regular in the discharge of his duties, he never in the course of twenty-nine years' service rose above the grade of an Orderly Sergeant. Before he left Scotland he was in the battle of Culloden on the side of the Stuarts. Shortly after his arrival in America he volunteered at Chester and was appointed an Orderly Sergeant in Captain Hannum's company. This was at the commencement of the French War. This company afterwards became a part of the regular force under Colonel Dark, of Virginia, which belonged to the division of Braddock's Army, commanded by General Forbes. But

Mr. Wallace was not at the defeat of Braddock, as the command of Forbes was not in that action.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Wallace immediately enlisted at Turk's Head (now West Chester) in Church's company, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne, was appointed Sergeant and served in that station to the end of the war. He was engaged in the bloody affair at the Three Rivers when the attempt was made to burn the British vessels. He was engaged in the battle of Iron Hills, under Colonel Wayne, and in the battle of Brandywine, where he aided in carrying General Lafayette off the field when wounded. On the night of the 20th of September, 1777, a detachment of British troops, under General Grey, perpetrated a massacre on a small body of American troops. Wallace was in the conflict and escaped destruction by taking refuge among a cluster of chestnut oak sprouts. [This was at Paoli, Chester County, Pa.]

He was at the battle of Germantown, the battle of Monmouth and at last taken prisoner with Captain Sealey and eighteen others in New Jersey. After his exchange he acted as Sergeant in the forlorn hope in storming Stony Point. He afterwards marched to South Carolina and was at the battle of Cowpens, Eutaw and Camden, and was at the closing scene of the war, at Yorktown.

In 1785 he again enlisted at New Brunswick, New Jersey, under Captain Lane and joined the regiment under Colonel Harman, destined to chastise the Mohawks. These troops were discharged without seeing any service, and in 1786 Wallace again enlisted and continued in the army for three years, lying at the forts on the western waters.

In 1791 Mr. Wallace again enlisted at Philadelphia in the company of Captain Doyle, which afterwards formed part of the force commanded by General St. Clair, against the Indians in the West. He was in the terrible slaughter called "St. Clair's Defeat," in which he was wounded in the right arm by a ball. His arm was so injured that it has never since been straight. He, nevertheless, remained in the army and was in the battle fought by Wayne with the Indians in 1794. He afterwards served five years in the Third U. S. Sub. Legion under Captain Pike, the father of the late General Pike.

When the Legion was dissolved, he fell into the Second Regiment in Captain Schuyler's company and was at last marched to

New Orleans, 1811, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Cushing and was finally discharged in 1813, at the age of eighty, by General Wade Hampton on account of debility.

This respectable veteran, we understand, has vouchers from gentlemen of high character in Pennsylvania. He has been personally known, for many years, to Colonel Isaac Wayne, the son of General Wayne, under whom he served in the Revolution and subsequently in the Indian wars in the West.

He is poor—has a wife and two children—the youngest fifteen years of age—*and the pension hitherto received by him from Government amounts only to twenty-six cents per day.* If the law should deny him more, we trust the generous feelings in our city will not permit him to return to his home, oppressed by the expense of his journey, as well as a sense of the disappointment to which it shall have conducted him.

From the *New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary,* Saturday, January 31, 1835:

Last Sunday the earthly remains of this veteran soldier of the Revolution were borne to the silent tomb, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, attended by extraordinary exhibitions of affection and respect, with which a grateful people felt delighted to honor the memory of the brave hero. The numerous military corps of this city, the militia officers off duty, the Mayor and Common Council, officers of the Army and Navy, Judges of the Courts, several societies, and a large body of citizens cheerfully united to pay the last honors to a valiant soldier. Wallace was educated, lived and died in the Catholic faith.

A correspondent of the *New York Times,* of the 27th inst., gives the chief traits of his earthly pilgrimage: "The old veteran whose services while living commanded so signal a mark of respect to his memory when the spirit had winged its flight, as was exhibited on Sunday, was born in the city of Inverness, Scotland, in the early part of the year 1730. He arrived in the United States after he had attained to the years of manhood, nearly eighty-three years ago. In 1754 he entered the service as a volunteer, and was engaged, with the rank of Orderly Sergeant, in what was called the old French War.

"In the commencement of the American Revolution he entered the service and was appointed a sergeant in the Pennsylvania regiment under George Wayne. He was present at the battle of Three Rivers; the Iron Hills; Brandywine (where he bore La Fayette

from the field after he had been wounded); at the massacre at Paoli (where his brother was killed); Germantown, Monmouth; was taken prisoner at Parannus in Jersey, soon after exchanged; was Sergeant of the forlorn hope at the storming of Stony Point in 1779. He was also at the battle of Cowpen; at Eutaw; Camden; and also at Yorktown, where he witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis.

"After the Revolutionary War he formed a portion of the brave men stationed to protect the American frontier against the depredations of the Indians. He was present at the desperate battle denominated "St. Clair's defeat," where our army was obliged to retreat, and finally take up their quarters at Fort Washington, where the City of Cincinnati now stands. He again took the field, with his companions, in the spring and was present at the final battle with the Indians when they were beaten by General Wayne at Russe Debouch in 1794. In the last war with Great Britain, Sergeant Wallace, at the age of eighty-three, was still found in the service of our beloved country—he belonged to the regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Cushing and marched to New Orleans with that regiment in 1812. In 1813 he received a paralytic stroke and was discharged from the service by order of General Wade Hampton. Of late years he has resided at Upper Oxford Township, Chester Co., Pa.

"Besides the scenes of battle and trial which have been named, Wallace was present at several minor ones and freely bled for the cause in which he was engaged. He was severely wounded at St. Clair's defeat and bore the marks of that and other engagements to his grave."

Though *The Globe* and *The Times* state that Wallace was in New Orleans in 1812, and discharged in 1813, the record of the Pension office states he was discharged April 8, 1811.

Though buried in St. Patrick's graveyard, New York, the grave is now unknown—no memorial having been erected—no burial records exist to show the location of his grave. "The tombstones alone are the only record of the past in this old cemetery," writes Rt. Rev. Mgr. John F. Kearney.

As Sergeant Wallace and his brother, Catholics, were at Paoli, Pa., when "the massacre" of Americans took place, the annexed letter referring to the perpetrator of "atrocious massacre" and to the restoration by his great-grandson of the portrait of Benjamin

Franklin stolen when the British were in Philadelphia, may be appropriately inserted:

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1906.

Editor, the Gaelic American:

The portrait of Franklin "presented" by Earl Grey to this country got to this city this morning. It is an important feature in the celebration of Franklin's two hundredth birthday.

It was sto—oh, no, "taken"—"appropriated," "removed" and other less harsh words by the great-grandfather of the Earl, who now returns it, not as an act of reparation for the misdeed of his ancestor, but as a testimonial of goodwill and friendship towards dear America, so as to promote the closer coming together of kindred separated by an "unpleasantness" over a century ago, in which his great-grandfather took a conspicuous, but yet an ignoble part, as the restoration of this portrait is itself ample testimony.

It has been believed that Major André, the Spy, executed by order of Washington himself, "stole." Yes, that's the word given his supposed offence, but now it is revealed that it was "removed," "secured" by General Grey while the British were in occupancy of this city.

But why so much ado over its return? Is it the beginning of a course of reparation for the sins done by the forefather? Is atonement to be made for the crimes, yes, crimes of an ancestor? Then we all should rejoice at the course of Earl Grey, even though his first act is smoothed over and made palatable to himself and as pleasant as possible to the receivers.

But Earl Grey by his action simply calls attention to the doings of his great-grandfather while in this city. One deed of his so aroused the hearts of our Revolutionary soldiers that "REMEMBER PAOLI" became their watch-cry and strengthened their resolve for vengeance.

To-day, while the looted portrait of Franklin is being honored, I, too, "REMEMBER PAOLI." Will you let me tell others, not to arouse antipathy, but to manifest honor to our Revolutionary heroes and to express detestation of the one crime above all others during the Revolution which called forth the most vehement denunciation of the Patriots?

In September, 1777, General Wayne was sent by Washington with 1,500 men to join General Smallwood to annoy the rear of the

British army then advancing on Philadelphia. A part of Wayne's force was, on September 20, stationed at Paoli, about twenty-one miles from Philadelphia, now on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, about half a mile southwest of Malvern station.

Tories of the neighborhood gave information to General Grey of the British army and—but let not my temper move a further recital, but let me turn to the historical record so that in colder blood an account may be given:

"Grey stole his way through the woods, drove in the American pickets and rushed on the sleeping camp. Some volleys were fired by the Americans, but they were soon overpowered. General Grey, it is said, ordered his troops to give no quarter; and one hundred and fifty American soldiers were killed, many of them in cold blood, after all resistance was over. The enemy set fire to the straw of the camp and some of the wounded, being unable to escape, perished in the flames. The bodies of fifty-three Americans killed in this attack were found near the scene of action and buried in one grave on the field."

That's a plain, spiritless record, isn't it? That becometh History.

I visited the place of this butchery last Summer. Let us see what the people of all that region thought of the affair forty years after the event. They were not spiritless as the record they made and which I copied shows. On September 20, 1817, a monument was erected over the remains of the Patriots. The inscriptions thereon read:

On the east side:

"This memorial, in honor of Revolutionary Patriotism, was erected September 20th, 1817, by the Republican Artillerists of Chester County, aided by the contributions of their fellow-citizens."

On the west side they carved:

"Sacred to the memory of the Patriots who, on this spot, fell a sacrifice to British barbarity, during the struggle for American Independence, on the night of the 20th September, 1777."

On the north side they carved:

"The atrocious massacre which this stone commemorates was perpetrated by British troops, under the immediate command of Major-General Grey."

On the south side they cut:

"Here repose the remains of fifty-three American soldiers, who were the victims of cold blooded cruelty in the well-known massacre at Paoli while under the command of General Anthony Wayne, an officer whose military conduct, bravery and humanity were equally conspicuous throughout the Revolutionary War."

So that's the record of Major-General Grey, the great-grandfather of Earl Grey, made by those who knew and were on the scene of his—What?

COLD BLOODED CRUELTY, BRITISH BARBARITY, ATROCIOUS MASSACRE.

And sixty years after the Republican Artillerists and their fellow-citizens had cut on stone that record, the citizens of Chester County erected a new monument and re-engraved on it the self-same tribute to Major-General Grey. This they did September 20, 1877, one hundred years after the great-grandfather of the Earl had, by his "atrocious massacre," "his cold blooded cruelty," murdered American Patriots in so infamous a manner, contrary to the laws of warfare that while an American Revolutionary soldier lived he REMEMBERED PAOLI.

Shall we forget it? I did not, and so visited it but a few months ago, little thinking that the murderer of those who battled for the Freedom of my Country would, by his descendant, be made an instrument for alliance with a Country guilty of this "ATROCIOUS MASSACRE" so much so that it was regarded as an evidence of "BRITISH BRUTALITY."

The historical record I have quoted concludes:

"The entire scene of the memorable conflict is probably the best preserved of any that marked the progress of the Revolutionary War, and no doubt will always remain a sacred shrine to the citizens of a free country."

Is not the fact of its preservation an evidence of the deep detestation of the ATROCIOUS MASSACRE held by the citizens of the region thereabouts?

I suggest that on next September 20th a visitation be made to the place by those who abhor BRITISH BRUTALITY.

It is in every way suited for the attendance of a large crowd and facilities exist for entertainment, as the field is used as a picnic ground. That would remind Earl Grey that more is needed in the

way of restoration than the return of a portrait his great-grandfather stole and even concealed, himself and his descendants, so that, until the Earl's restoration it was not known to be in his possession and its whereabouts a matter of conjecture. So ashamed was the Earl that he had a portrait stolen by his ancestor guilty of this "COLD BLOODED CRUELTY" who had committed the "ATROCIOUS MASSACRE" at Paoli, which Americans ought never to forget, but always to REMEMBER.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

From this massacre Sergeant Wallace was one of the few who escaped, though his brother was among the slain.

A week later, during the night of September 27th, General Grey surprised Baylor's Dragoons at Tappan, New York. Of one hundred and four unarmed and sleeping men, sixty-seven were given no quarter, but murdered and seventy horses butchered. Colonel Baylor was made prisoner. After the war he went to Barbadoes and died there in 1784. By Act of Congress, May 25, 1832, his widow, Mrs. Ann Baylor, received $19,950.44 for his commutation of pay as Colonel of Dragoons. [Saffel's *Records Rev.*, 385.]

In June, 1778, General Grey obtained leave to return to England. He took with him the portrait of Franklin, stolen from Benjamin's home.

MAJOR MICHAEL RYAN.

Michael Ryan was commissioned, January 8, 1776, as Second Lieutenant of Captain John Lacey's company, of Bucks County, Pa., of the Fourth Battalion, under Colonel Anthony Wayne, in which he was appointed acting Adjutant, February 17, 1776, and Adjutant, March 15, 1776; transferred to Tenth Pennsylvania as Major, October 23, 1777; promoted Brigadier-Major, November 18, 1777; suspended from that rank February 19, 1778, on account of his appointment being adjudged by a Board of General Officers to be irregular [*Pa. Ar.*, 2-3, 496]; Inspector-General of Wayne's Division March 20, 1778, to June 12, 1779.

On May 28, 1779, he addressed this memorial to the Board of War:

[MEMORIAL OF MICHAEL RYAN TO THE BOARD OF WAR.]

Gentlemen:—I enter'd the Army in Jany, 1776, as Lieut. & Adjutant, and early that year had the appointment of Brigade Major, with a full assurance from General Gates that I should Rank as Major from the date of that appointment. I was several Months a Major in the Pennsa. Line, and did duty as such, but a remonstrance from the Captains 'gainst the appointment, occasion'd a sitting of a Board of Genl Officers (by the Commander-in-Chiefs orders) who declar'd my Promotion "irregular." I was consequently superceded, Yet promis'd by His Excellency that I should be consider'd as a Major in the Line of the Army tho' not in any particular Regt. From this situation I was appointed Brigadier-Inspector, in which capacity I have ever since acted. The Committee of Arrangement at the Valey forge taking into consideration my pretensions to Rank in the Line Arrang'd me as Capt: a Rank I was entitled to, by my Second Lieutenancy in the 5th Pennsa Regt. Now the Late Resolves of Congress relative to the Inspector-Generals Department render me (as Captain) incapable of doing Inspectors duty tho' I'm return'd as one of the Inspectors, I constantly draw the pay of Major, and in my opinion am intitled to receive that pay by some Resolves of Congress respecting B. Majors. I therefore request Gentlemen on account of the unpresedented changes of Rank I have suffer'd you will grant me such a *Brevett as Major, that will intitle me to Majors prilige[es] at the termination of the War, without giving me Rank of those who are at present my superior officers.*

Such a Brevett would capacitate me for the appointment of Brigade Major and Brigade Inspector Stations which I have been us'd to act in.

I am with due respect, Gentlemen,

Your most obt Humble Servt,

M. RYAN.

May 28th, 1779.

The Board of War.

[BRIGADIER-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE TO THE BOARD OF WAR.]

Gentlemen:—Its a duty I owe to Major Ryan to Inform your Honorable Board. that from the high Opinion I entertained of his Merit and Military Abilities, I was Induced to procure him the Majority in the line which he mentions, on the presumption that his long Standing as Brigade Major wou'd (as it had in Similar cases) entitle him to that Rank.

By this means he Vacated his place as Brigade Major which was Supplied by Major Fishbourn;—after his promotion was declared Irregular—he was Appointed Brigade Inspector, but a late Resolve of the Honorable Congress precloses him from acting in that Capacity being only a Captain in the Line, and in fact deprives him of Emoluments which he would have Enjoyed as Brigade Major.

I must therefore beg leave in the Strongest terms to Recommend him to your Honble Board as a Gentleman highly Meriting the Brevett he wishes and from which Indulgence the Board will be under no Embarrassment of future Claims of a Similar nature as I am well Convinced that the American Army can't produce an Other Instance.

I am Gentlemen with every Sentiment of Esteem,

Your most Obt Hum Servt,

ANTY WAYNE, B.G.

29th May, 1779.

The Honble Board of War.

[*Washington Correspondence,* Library of Congress.]

MICHAEL RYAN TO COUNCIL.

To His Excellency the President and the Honble the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania:

THE MEMORIAL OF MICHAEL RYAN.

Humbly Sheweth:—That your Memorialist being an Inhabitant of this State very early embarked in the Cause of America and served with reputation in many Capacities as he can elucidate from General Washington's approbation of his conduct when he left the Army and other respectable Testimonials. That your Memorialist

continued in the said service between three and four years and who when he resigned it was owing to his being injured in his Rank from an accidental appointment which then took place. That as soon as your Memorialist left the service of the United States he was immediately thereupon appointed Inspector-General of the Militia of this State and thus altogether remained in the Public service as a military Character the principal part of the Late War. That your Memorialist obtained Certificates for his depreciation of pay from the Auditor appointed under the Act of assembly in that case made and provided which Certificates have been long since transfered and negociated as Money Bona fide and justly due him.

That a Capias and respondendum has now issued against your Memorialist to recover back of him the amt and value of the said Certificate (being about £547) and your Memorialist is now in the Custody of the Sheriff of this City and County. That your Memorialist conceives it very Cruel after disposing of a Certificate obtained in manner afforesaid to be called upon to refund the same.

Your Memorialist conceiving himself very much injured under these circumstances is advis'd to apply to the House of Assembly for redress.

He therefore in the meantime prays your Honble Board will be pleased to stay and Postpone the proceedings against him and make such order in the premises as to your Wisdom may seem meet.

Your Memorialist will ever pray.

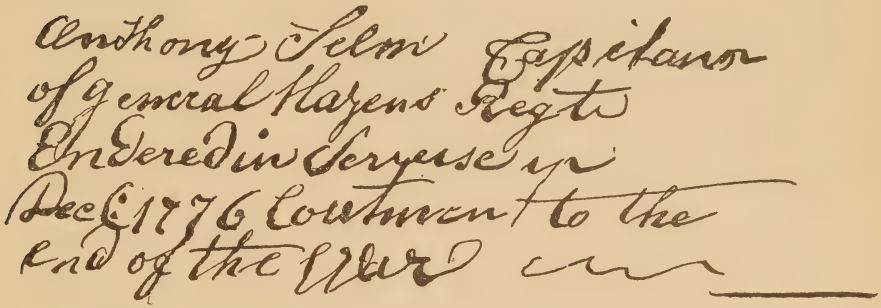
Philadelphia, Augst 13th, 1784.

[From original autograph in possession of Michael J. Ryan, Esq.]

On March 1, 1776, Father Ferdinand Farmer baptized three children of Michael and Elizabeth Ryan: John, born February 17, 1771 (sponsor, Simon Leblanc); Mary, born October 17, 1772 (sponsor, Catharine Boudrot); Alice, born March 19, 1774 (sponsor, Catharine Boudrot).

After the war Major Ryan removed to Virginia. In 1787 the State of Virginia made a grant of land to Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Ryan. His heirs are now being sought. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. A copy of his signature to the Roll is herewith given.

CAPTAIN ANTHONY SELIN, THE FOUNDER OF SELIN'S GROVE, PA., A CATHOLIC SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION.



Selin's Grove, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna River near the mouth of Penn's creek which, uniting with the Midale, enters the Susquehanna opposite Sunbury.

Its founder was Captain Anthony Selin, a Swiss Catholic, who had been a soldier of the Revolution. Count Von Ottendorff, a nobleman from Lusatia, Saxony, who had served in "The Seven Years' War" as Lieutenant, came to the United States with Kosciusko. At Washington's request he was, by Congress, on November 8, 1776, appointed brevet captain. On December 5th Congress authorized him to organize an independent corps of three companies and appointed him Major. All were recruited in Pennsylvania and continued in service until 1780 when the corps was merged into Armand's Legion.

Anthony Selin was, on December 5, 1776, appointed a Captain in the new corps. He followed its movements until the defeat at Brandywine and the capture of Philadelphia by the British obliged Washington's army to go into encampment at Valley Forge, where by Washington's Orderly Book of May 26, 1778, it is ordered: That an independent corps commanded by Captain Selin are immediately to bury the offal and carrion near the black bull. The commanding General of the staff will in future apply to the commanding officer of that corps for a party to bury any offal which may be near his stall.

By the June (1778) List of non-commissioned officers and men of his company it is shown to consist of forty-six, mostly Germans

though the names of Owen Cooley, Patrick Hanley and Francis McGauran show that the Irish were not absent from the command of a Swiss as they were to be found also in the distinctively named German Regiment.

On October 1, 1778, Selin's company being reduced in numbers was united with that of Captain John Paul Schott's corps whose commission dated September 6, 1776, outranked Selin's. [*Pa. Ar.*, 5, 111.] In 1779 Captain Selin was, by the retirement of Schott, placed in command when this Rifle Corps was assigned to the expedition of General Sullivan against Iroquois Indians of Western New York, who had during the winter been making a series of attacks on the frontier towns of New York and Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna and the Lackawanna. The massacre at Wyoming, the destruction of Andrustown and the Cherry Valley depredations made it necessary for vigorous measures to subdue these savages, the allies of the British. Congress, on February 27, 1779, authorized Washington to take measures to protect the inhabitants and to chastise the Indians. In March he appointed General John Sullivan to command the expedition of three thousand five hundred men in three Divisions. To the Third Division under General Edward Hand, of Pennsylvania, was assigned "Schott's Rifle Corps commanded by Captain Selin." There was also a section of Colonel Thomas Proctor Artillery of Philadelphia in which Captain Patrick Duffey served.

Owing to lack of supplies and the opposition of many Pennsylvanians to the expedition it did not get under march until the end of July. To General Hand and his light troops was assigned the post of honor, the front of the column which was directed to keep a mile in advance of the main body.

On August 22d an expedition under General James Clinton had been fitted out by New York. On August 22d the two commands united and a reorganization of the army was made. By this a pioneer corps was organized under Captains Selin and Ballard.

"On the 26th of August the army took up the line of march to an unknown country, through leagues of unbroken forests, into the very heart of the enemy's territory, relying on their own valor alone for success, without hope of relief or reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, of any quarter. It was an expedition in which not only peculiar hardships might be expected, but it was one with

scarcely a parallel in the world's history for the boldness of its design and the courage with which it was undertaken. To transport an army with its equipments and supplies, through an uncivilized country, without roads, for much of the way without water communications; to cut loose from their base of supplies and communications; to be shut up for weeks from the intelligence of the world, where to fall was to die, and ordinarily to die by torture, was an example of heroic bravery which the world has seldom witnessed." [Miller's *Centennial Address,* p. 118.]

And of this army Captain Anthony Selin led a pioneer corps, and "the riflemen were deployed in front of the line as skirmishers." And "it is a certain truth that the enemy entertain a most fortunate apprehension of American riflemen," wrote General Charles Lee to Colonel Thompson in June, 1776. [*Corres. Rev.,* II, 501.]

The expedition resulted in the destruction of fourteen Indian towns. "The whole country was swept as with the besom of destruction."

The annexed documents are transcripts from the Papers of Washington and of the Continental Congress now in the Library of Congress:

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN, 27th April, 1780.

Sir:—As the inclosed representation from Capt Schott to me implies that some steps have been taken by the Board respecting the incorporation of his and Captain Selin's Companies with the German Battalion, I have not thought proper to give any opinion upon it, untill I am informed how far the representation agrees with the measures which the Board may have adopted upon the occasion.

I have the honor &c.*

[GEORGE WASHINGTON.]

Board of War.

[*Washington Papers,* A. V. Pt. I, 333.]

PHILADELPHIA, July 29, 1781.

Dear General:—I have the honor to recommend to your Excellencys notice the bearer Capt Selin who is soliciting a Captaincy in Hazens Regiment. As he have served with me I take the

* This is a draft of a letter, in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Liberty of assuring your Excellency that he is truly a Deserving officer And will do honor to the appointment if confered upon him.

I have the Honor to be with much respect

Your Excellencys

His Excellency
Genl Washington.

Most obedt Servt
JNO SULLIVAN.

[*Washington Papers,* Vol. I, folio 119.]

To the Honorable Congress of the United States of America:

The Memorial of Anthony Selin Major in General Hazen's Regiment, Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialist having served in General Hazens Regiment during the War, and being the only Foreign Officer in the said regiment, and being as yet unsatisfied for his Services, Humbly prays the Honorable Congress to take his Case into Consideration and trusts they will put him on the same footing with the Foreign Officers in General Armand's Corps, And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

ANTHONY SELIN.

It is endorsed: "The Committee of the Week report that the petition of Anthony Seling a foreign officer be referred to a special committee. 11 February, 1784: Referred to Messrs. Williamson, Monroe and Howell."

[From the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 41 IX. folio 269.]

To the Honorable Congress of the United States of America:

The Petition of Major Selin humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner having been near Seven Weeks on his Journey and Attendance on the Honorable Congress, has not only expended all the Money he had, but is in debt at his Inn, not having received the Interest of his Notes which was his only means to support him, He finds himself under the hard necessity of begging the Honorable Congress to order him the Payment of One Hundred Dollars to enable him to discharge his Debt and return to Philadelphia. And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

ANTHONY SELIN.

It is endorsed "February, 1784."

[From the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 42, VII, folio 184.]

[Extract from the *Journals of the Continental Congress,* February 24, 1784.]

Resolved, That the instruction of the 22d January last, to the superintendent of finance, in favor of certain foreign officers, be considered by him as extending and it is hereby extended to Major Anthony Selin, late of General Hazen's regiment.

These descriptions of Selin as "a foreign officer" indicate that he was among the number of French and other "foreign officers" who came to this Country to aid the Americans.

Rev. G. W. Gensler, of Selin's Grove, Pa., in the *Pennsylvania German* for June, 1907, in giving "A Short History of Selin's Grove," says:

"Anton Selin, a Swiss Catholic, came to these parts after the Revolution. That he took an active part in this war we infer from the fact that he was honored with a captain's commission. He was also a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and his certificate of membership, signed by George Washington, is now in the possession of Mr. H. D. Schnure, one of his many descendants.

After coming here he married the sister of John and Simon Snyder, purchased the ground north of the Conrad Weiser tract, had it surveyed and laid out in lots and made an attempt to dispose of them. This was the original town of Selin's Grove, beginning, on the south, at a point near where the opera house now stands and running north along the public highway leading from Harrisburg to Northumberland, now known as Market Street.

Simon Snyder was afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania.

CAPTAIN PATRICK DUFFEY.

On October 27, 1775, Thomas Proctor, born in County Longford, Ireland, in 1739, who came to America in his youth with his father, applied to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania for a commission as Captain of a company of artillery which he offered to raise to garrison Fort Island in the Delaware. He was that day appointed and soon recruited the first Company of Pennsylvania Artillery. By August he had raised two companies of one hundred men each.

Among the recruits was Patrick Duffey who, from June 30, 1776, to October 5, 1776, was Corporal and Clerk of Captain Proctor's Company of one hundred and fourteen men and twelve

musicians. On October 5th Duffey was appointed Third Lieutenant of the Company. On taking the oath of allegiance he signed "Pat. Duffey." Thomas Forrest was Captain, Proctor having been appointed Major of the battalion of two companies. This was the only Pennsylvania Artillery.

On May 6th Proctor received orders from the Committee of Safety to "call every boat and soldier to their station and prepare for action and suffer no officer or man to leave their station."

The "Roebuck" and the "Liverpool" British men-of-war lay in the Delaware below Philadelphia. On May 8th an engagement took place between these ships and the naval forces of Pennsylvania. In coöperation with them and serving on the "Hornet" were Captain Proctor and one hundred of his men who had volunteered. [*S.* & *W.*, 306.]

When after the Battle of Long Island in August, Washington's forces were severely pressed and he retreated from New York through New Jersey, contesting every mile while retiring to the Delaware, Washington sent appeals to Philadelphia for the militia and Associators to quickly come to his assistance.

Captain Forrest's company, on December 1st, received orders to proceed to Trenton. On the 4th he, with Lieutenant Patrick Duffey, commanding fifty men equipped with two brass-mounted six-pounders, left Philadelphia, while Major Proctor and other officers remained to hasten further advances. The company, in the Trenton Campaign, was assigned to General Knox's Regiment of Continental Artillery and State Batteries. It took part in battle and captured the Hessian General Rall's band of musicians, which later "discoursed sweet music" to the Philadelphians when the nine hundred Hessian prisoners were marched through Philadelphia as an exhibit of the hired destroyers of those battling for their Liberty and the Independence of the Country.

Lieutenant Duffey, on December 28, 1776, wrote to Major Proctor, saying:

"I have the pleasure to inform you that yesterday we arrived from Trenton after a fatiguing (though successful) engagement in which I can assure you that the Battery got applause. I had the honor of being detached up the main street in front of the savages without any other piece, and sustained the fire of several guns from houses on each side of the street without the least loss. Must attribute my protection to the hand of Providence. We made

prisoners of about nine hundred together with the number killed which I cannot exactly ascertain, but we took six brass field pieces and a number of small arms which have been safely carried off." [Stryker's *Battle of Trenton,* p. 370.]

On February 6, 1777, Proctor became Colonel. On March 3, 1777, Duffey was promoted to Captain-Lieutenant.

On April 13, 1777, Proctor's Artillery was stationed at Bound Brook to protect the territory, five or six miles in extent, under General Lincoln who had command of five hundred men. Lord Cornwallis was at Brunswick. He attacked Proctor's command and obliged the Artillery to retreat, destroyed the military stores and captured Lieutenants Ferguson and Trumbull and twenty men. General Lincoln reoccupied the ground on the retirement of the British. On June 20, 1777, the company was taken into the Continental service. It was attached to General Wayne's Division and participated in all its movements and engagements, at Chadd's Ford, at the Brandywine, at Germantown, at the attack on the Chew House and in the desolation and suffering at Valley Forge.

On February 29, 1778 [*Pa. Ar.,* 5, 3, 973], or December 2, 1778 [*ibid,* p. 988], he was promoted to Captain. At the latter date, according to report of 21st, his command numbered but seventeen men and by March 19, 1779, had been reduced to fourteen, he being "absent sick at Yellow Springs."

During the winter of 1777-8, Captain Duffey, with his command, was at Valley Forge. On June 2, 1778, Captain Duffey was "Officer of the Day" at Valley Forge, having the day before been appointed Judge-Advocate of a Brigade Court-Martial, but later the order for the Court was countermanded. After the British had evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, 1778, Captain Duffey's name is found among those who, on July 17, 1778, signed a pledge to make known "the disaffected enemies of America." [*Pa. Post.,* July 25th.]

On September 3, 1778, Colonel Proctor's Regiment was drafted into Continental service. (December 21, 1778, two hundred and eight men; March 19, 1779, one hundred and forty-two.) In 1779 it served in Sullivan's Campaign against the Indians. It then was assigned to Wayne's Division and took part in the Bergen Neck Expedition, satirized by Major André of the British Army as "*The Cow Chase*" and mentioning "Proctor with his cannon."

By return of Proctor's Artillery, April 3, 1779, we learn that of the 198 men, it had 67 Irish, 13 English, 4 Scotch, 22 Germans,

1 Welsh, 5 Maryland, 69 Pennsylvanians, 1 Delaware, 12 New Jersey, 1 New England, 2 New York, 1 Georgia. [*Pa. Ar.,* 5, 3, 978.]

The next year Captain Duffey's Company secured seven recruits: Wm. Darrs, Nicholas Frye, James Livingston, Robert Maxwell, Andrew Miller, Woodbury Tiers, John Wagoner. [*Ibid,* p. 1028.]

On April 5, 1781, the battalion was at Newtown, Bucks Co., and of the 219 men reported, Captain Duffey had 13. Later in the month Duffey's command was sent to Fort Island in the Delaware.

Records are not available to show all the movements of Proctor's Artillery and Captain Duffey's Company, but Gasper Ebner, drummer of the Company, was in General Sullivan's battle with the Indians at Baggin Point and also at Yorktown at surrender of Cornwallis. He was discharged at Philadelphia in 1783 and in 1822 resided in Westmoreland County, Pa. [*Am. Mo. Mag.,* xx iii, 195.]

While besieging Cornwallis in Yorktown, Va., Captain Duffey was dismissed from the army on conviction of charges as set forth in the *Journal* of Lieutenant John Bell Tilden of Colonel Walter Stewart's Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, where is found this record under date of October 1, 1781, "Captain Duffy's trial begins."

October 2d. Extract from General Orders: "At a General Court-Martial of the Line held before York, October 2d, Captain Duffey, 4th Regiment Artillery, charged with scandalous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, on the night of the 23d (September) and morning of the 24th, such as drawing his sword on Captain Ballard and attempting to stab him and firing a pistol at him when unarmed; also for most disgraceful breach of friendship in seizing from Lieutenant Blewer a loaded pistol and snapping it at him when attempting at Capt. Duffey's own request, an amicable settlement of his (Capt. Duffey's) quarrel with Captain Ballard; also charged by Lieut.-Col. John Stewart, (1) being drunk, (2) rioting in the streets, (3) abusing a French soldier, (4) violating general discipline in having in a seditious and disorderly manner threatened to take a French guard stationed at a hospital to take care of the sick; was tried and found guilty and discharged the service, October 12, 1781." [*Pa. Mag.,* XIX, 59, 61-2.]

After the War Captain Duffey became active in the State Militia service, where we find him presiding over Court-Martial for trial of offenders. The *Freeman's Journal* of March 21, 1788, relates:

"May 9, 1788, Regimental Court-Martial held at State House by order of James Read, Lieutenant-Colonel of Second Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia for the trial of James Barron, a private, Captain Patrick Duffey, presided. A charge was exhibited by Captain Hugh Ferguson against said Barron for disobedience of orders on parade, the 7th inst. and after examination of the evidence for and against the prisoner, the Court were of opinion that the charge was well founded, and in conformity of law sentenced him to pay a fine of ten days' labor.

"I have examined the foregoing proceedings and approve of the judgment of the Court. "James Read, Lieut.-Col."

Captain Duffey was at this time engaged in the business of a Broker. One of his advertisements reads:

PATRICK DUFFEY
BROKER

Respectfully informs the Public, that he has REMOVED his OFFICE to the fourth door below Third, in Chestnut Street, where he continues to PURCHASE and SELL

CERTIFICATES for the Land Office
with every other Species of Paper Securities now in circulation!
DOLLAR MONEY,
STATE MONEY of the Emission of 1787, &c., &c.
And has also provided himself with
STORES

To receive Merchandize, which he will sell for those who please to employ him, to the best advantage, at a moderate Commission, and will endeavor, to the best of his abilities, to give general satisfaction.

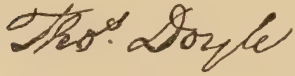
He flatters himself that an Attention to the Interests of those for whom he has been heretofore concerned will give him some claim to their future Confidence.

MONEY PROCURED ON LOAN,

on approved security and the greatest Secrecy and Delicacy observed in the Negotiation of any Business committed to his Charge.

[*Penna. Packet,* Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1787.]

CAPTAIN THOMAS DOYLE.



Captain Thomas Doyle, of Lancaster, Pa., was the son of Thomas Doyle, the son of the first Thomas Doyle who came from Maryland to Pennsylvania. He was a hatter. On the organization of his brother's company, Thomas became a non-commissioned officer, but on January 1, 1777, was promoted to Second Lieutenant in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment and was engaged under Wayne at Brandywine and Germantown. On March 11, 1779, he was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment and on March 15, 1779, was transferred to the Sixth Battalion. He participated in the victory at Yorktown and after that served under Wayne in Carolina and Georgia until the close of the war. On January 1, 1783, he was assigned to the Third Pennsylvania.

After the close of the Revolution it was necessary to protect the northwestern frontier from the Indians and their British allies. In 1784 Congress sent a force under General St. Clair and Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmer. Under the latter's command Lieutenant Doyle took service, August 12, 1784. He was at the defeat of St. Clair and was also with Wayne in his victory over the Indians. His name appears December 23, 1787, as Lieutenant with the return of Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States. [Beatty's *Mem. Maj. Ferguson.*]

On September 22, 1792, Doyle was made Major in Wayne's Sub-Legion of the United States. In the spring of 1794 he was sent with a command to take possession of Fort Masaae on the Ohio River thirty-six miles from its mouth. Here Major Doyle remained in command several years. "He proved a capable and energetic commander, was agreeable and polite to travelers who passed that point on their way to the Mississippi and furnished them a safe escort when passing through the Indian country." He was later stationed at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, where he died February 6, 1802. He was a member of the Cincinnati.

COLONEL JOHN MOORE.

John Moore was born in Dublin, Ireland, and came to Philadelphia about 1758. He engaged in the marine merchant service, but prior to the Revolution removed to Lancaster, Pa., and there kept tavern. In 1776 he was Major of the Flying Camp of the regiment of Colonel Robert Lewis. On May 6, 1777, was appointed Colonel of Second Battalion of the Philadelphia County Association of Germantown, Roxbury, Springfield and Bristol. He married Elizabeth, sister of Captain Thomas and of Major John Doyle. This family were Catholics.

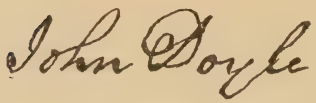
Ann Moore, born 1770, married, November 8, 1786, by Rev. Joseph Hutchens, Episcopal Church, Lancaster, Pa., John Wilkes Kittera who had been Captain of Volunteers in the campaign in New Jersey.

In 1790 he was elected Representative in Congress from the Lancaster and Chester Counties District. He died in 1801. Mrs. Kittera died December 26, 1843. Their daughter Eliza married John Conrad. They had ten children. One was Robert T. Conrad, Judge and also Mayor of Philadelphia, elected by the Know Nothings in 1854. All descendants are non-Catholics.

Elizabeth Moore married James Cottringer, a Philadelphia Catholic, whose children were John and Elizabeth. They had no descendants. Another daughter of Colonel Moore—Mary Judith—married John Carrell, a Philadelphia Catholic. Their children were George, Timothy and Elizabeth. Their son, George A. Carrell, born in Philadelphia, July 13, 1803, was ordained Priest by Bishop Conwell in 1829, was several years pastor at St. Peter's, Wilmington, Delaware, and on November 1, 1853, was consecrated Bishop of Covington, Ky. He died September 25, 1868.

Colonel Thomas Moore died during the Revolutionary War. He owned much real estate in Lancaster. He built a brick mansion on South Queen Street.

MAJOR JOHN DOYLE.



Thomas Doyle came from Maryland to Pennsylvania to the neighborhood of Conestoga (near where Graeff's Landing now is) about 1727 or '28. He married Elizabeth Atkinson, daughter of Stephen Atkinson, a Quaker, and moved to Lancaster in 1729 or '30, where he accumulated much real estate and for fifty years scarcely an estate in Lancaster but show his name in the inventory. He was a Roman Catholic "a man of great intelligence and of good education." He died in 1788 in the brick mansion on West King Street, Lancaster.

His son Thomas, born in 1731, married Mary Young, daughter of Mathias Young, a Moravian and a merchant of Lancaster, Pa., in 1748 or '49. He died in 1784. Their children were John, Thomas, Elizabeth and Jacob. John was born January 23, 1750. He was a gunsmith. After the Declaration of Independence he began the organization of a company.

On July 16, 1776, the Board of War of the Continental Congress reported:

That a beating warrant be made out to Mr. John Doyle to be Captain of a Company of riflemen to be raised for three years, unless sooner discharged by Congress; his commission to be given him as soon as his company is full.

July 17, 1776. *Resolved,* That Samuel Brady be First Lieutenant, Wm. W. Murray Second Lieutenant, Henry Fortney Third Lieutenant of the independent company commanded by Captain Doyle. All were residents of Lancaster, Pa.

On September 5, 1776, a memorial from Captain John Doyle was presented to the Continental Congress and read, setting forth that in consequence of the resolution passed the 16th July, he has enlisted 80 men, whereof 60 have passed muster and that the other 20 are at Lancaster, and therefore praying that a commission be granted to him pursuant to the said resolution.

Congress, on December 2, 1776, advanced $800 to Captain Doyle, "for the use of his independent command, he to be accountable."

This company guarded prisoners at York and Lancaster as a detachment of the First Pennsylvania Battalion and did service at Brandywine and at Germantown engagements.

On December 16, 1778, Congress ordered that Colonel Hartley's regiment and the four independent companies of Captains Doyle, Wilkie, Steel and Catherwood and also the remains of Colonel Patton's regiment, except Captain McLane's company, be incorporated into one regiment and added to the Pennsylvania Line as an Eleventh Regiment and that Captain McLane's company be annexed to the Delaware regiment.

In the spring of 1781 this Company marched with the Pennsylvania troops under General Wayne to Virginia. And on July 6, 1781, after marching several miles from Chickahominy church, the first battalion of the Pennsylvania troops was detached, with a small party of riflemen, to feel for the British, whom they found rather unexpectedly, and they became hotly engaged. This brought on a general engagement. Among the wounded was Captain Doyle, Captain Stake (of Manor), Lieutenant Herbert (Leacock) and Captain McClellen (Lancaster). Captain Doyle for brilliant service in this action was promoted to a Major. Captain Doyle never entirely recovered from his wound. He was in a hospital in York, and from there was taken to Lancaster. He received a pension from the government.

April 21, 1785, a charter was granted to Colonel Chambers, Captain John Doyle and Henry Huber, to form a new Masonic lodge, No. 43, in Lancaster borough. He was also a member of the "Society of the Cincinnati," as the following, a copy of his certificate in that society, will show:

"Be it known that John Doyle, Esq., is a member of the Society of the Cincinnati instituted by the officers of the American army at the period of its dissolution, as well to commemorate the great event which gave independence to North America, as for the laudable purpose of inculcating the duty of laying down in Peace, arms assumed for the public defense, and of writing in acts of brotherly affection and bands of perpetual Friendship the Members constituting the same.

"In testimony whereof, I, the President of said Society have hereunto set my hand at Mount Vernon in the State of Virginia this thirty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand

seven hundred and eighty-five, and in the tenth year of the Independence of the United States.

By order

"GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

"J. KNOX, Secretary."

Major John Doyle died October 2, 1788, and was buried at St. Mary's, Lancaster. He was at that time Worshipful Master of Lodge 43, F. & A. Masons. [*History of Lodge,* p. 208.]

Now-a-days we may ask how he could have been a Mason and interred in a Catholic cemetery.

In 1794 Bishop Carroll, writing to Michael McElheney, a Maryland Catholic who was a Freemason, said there were "severe and heavy censures, even that of excommunication against all persons who continue in, join or frequent the lodges of Freemasons. . . . I do not pretend that these decrees are received generally by the Church or have full authority in this diocese, but they ought to be a very serious warning to all good Christians not to expose themselves to dangers which the Supreme head of the Church deemed to be contagious." [*Letter Book, Archives, Balto.*]

From this it would appear that the decrees had not "full force" in the Diocese of Baltimore at the time of Major Doyle's membership.

The tombstones of Captains John and Thomas Doyle for years rested against the south wall of the sacristy of the old stone church of St. Mary's in Lancaster, both of them having carved on their faces the compass, square and letter "G" of the Masonic order. Where these tombstones are now is not known.

LIEUTENANT SAMUEL BRADY.

Mr. Samuel Evans, in the Lancaster *Daily Intelligencer* of September 25, 1886, thus relates about Lieutenant Brady. From this narrative we get to know some of the services of Captain Thomas Doyle's company:

Lieutenant Brady was the son of Captain John Brady, and was born near Shippensburg, Pa., in 1758. Captain John Loudon, who was born in Strasburg township, in this county, and moved from thence with his father, Richard Loudon, to Lancaster in 1734 or '5,

and after his father's death in 1749 to "Wright's Ferry," where he kept the ferry and hotel for some years. He was an officer through the French and Indian wars from 1754-1763. Having received officers' land after that war in Buffalo Valley, on the West Branch, he moved there. When the first sound of the Revolutionary War was heard, he was then a widower, and in the early part of the year 1775 he raised a company of seventy men, all unmarried, and marched with them to Boston. Samuel Brady, who was then but a boy, marched as a private in Captain Loudon's company. At the battle of Bunker Hill he was thought to be too young to go with the advance party in the attack, and was ordered to the rear. The soldiers and officers were greatly surprised to find that Brady was the second man on the island, and when he and an officer were climbing over a fence a cannon ball struck the second rail under them. Brady only laughed and said they were not hurt, and moved on. After this battle he returned to Lancaster, when he joined Captain Doyle's company, under the command of General Hand, of Lancaster. He was at the battle of Trenton, and at Princeton, as usual, he was far in the advance, and was nearly surrounded, when he cut a horse out of a team and got his *Colonel* on and jumped up behind him, and thus made their escape. He was at Brandywine and at Paoli with Wayne, where the troops were surprised in the night. Brady was on guard duty, and when the British soldiers came upon him suddenly he sprang to a fence, and when he was climbing over one of the soldiers pinned his blanket to the fence with his bayonet. Brady tore it loose, and when an officer ordered him to halt he turned and shot him dead. Brady's father and brother were both badly wounded at Paoli.

Under Captain Doyle he was in all of the principal engagements until after the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, when for gallant conduct he was promoted to a captaincy, and was ordered to the West under General Broadhead.

His career in the West was a most remarkable one, and as a partisan ranger and Indian fighter he had no equal in the army. The Indians murdered his father and brothers, and he became intensely embittered against the savages. His adventures, if recited fully, would fill a large volume.

It is not known that Samuel Brady was a Catholic, but surely one of the name "ought to have been" and probably did profess to be.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM CLARKE.

William Clarke, born in Prince George County, Md., March 16, 1750; Second Lieutenant in the Seventh Battalion of the Maryland Line, under Captain Frederick Deans, Colonel John H. Stone and Brigadier-General Wm. Smallwood; participated in the defense of Long Island, N. Y., in 1777, and the battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

This Maryland Line was pre-eminent for its gallantry, perilous services and success in the War. On July 10, 1776, he, with his company and General, Colonel and Captain, and six companies under Colonel Smallwood from Annapolis, and three from Baltimore, embarked for the head of Elk River, and thence marched to New York, &c., &c. [See McSherry, Chap. IX, and all through the work: See also Scharf's *History of Maryland, Annals of Annapolis, Maryland Historical Records,* &c., &c., all books on Maryland in the Revolution, in the Libraries]; and took an active part in the famous battle of Brooklyn Heights, being mostly engaged from sunrise until the last gun was fired, and his corps took nearly one-half of its members again at the Battle of White Plains, New York; the Maryland Line again bore the brunt of the fight, and here Lieutenant Clarke bore his part amongst the bravest. So gallant was their conduct, that Congress rewarded the Maryland troops by appointing their commander, Smallwood, a Brigadier-General, on October 23, 1776. Again at Fort Washington, he and his comrades suffered most severely on the 16th of November, 1776.

In the winter of 1777 and 8, he was stationed at Wilmington, Delaware, and helped in the capture of the British vessel laden with stores and provisions.

When the British evacuated Philadelphia his command joined Washington's main army; he participated in the engagement at Monmouth, June 28, 1778; when General Smallwood's command joined the army in the South, Lieutenant Clarke did service with it and distinguished himself at the battle of Camden.

He was a lineal descendant of Robert Clarke, who came over from England in 1638 with a company of Jesuit Fathers and was the representative of the Jesuit freeholders in the Legislature of Maryland. He was also a member of the Privy Council under Leonard Calvert, Governor of Maryland, and as such was a member of the Maryland Legislature at the time that the celebrated

Maryland Toleration Law was enacted, and voted for it. He was also Surveyor-General of the Maryland Colony. He acquired a large landed estate, which was confiscated under the Protesant Ascendancy of 1688, having been summoned to court and therein made open declaration of his Catholic faith, which immediately entailed the confiscation of his estates. As he was the head and father of a large family, one of his many farms was released to him upon the request of the ladies of Maryland, who sympathized with his faith and his candor in avowing it at the risk of all he owned. These facts are set forth in the various historical works on the subject of Maryland.

Lieutenant Clarke was married to a Miss Mary Simms. They were the parents of sixteen children, all of whom grew up to be good citizens of Maryland, and many of them among the early citizens of Washington. Amongst the descendants of Lieutenant Clarke was Rev. William F. Clarke, S.J., and Dr. Richard H. Clarke, Counsellor-at-Law at New York and author of the "Lives of Deceased Bishops" and "New Lights on Columbus" and other historical works of great merit. Amongst the relatives of Lieutenant Clarke who were also in the Revolutionary Army as officers, were Henry Neale [McSherry, p. 379], James Semmes [*ibid,* p. 383], Ignatius Semmes [*ibid,* p. 384]

Among the Catholics of Maryland who served in the Army were: George Digges, Edward Dyer, John Boone, Walter Dyer, James Winchester, John J. Lowe, Hezekiah Ford, John Hamilton, Joshua Miles, John Lynch, Joseph Ford, Alexander H. Magruder, John Hawkins Lowe, John Brooke, Edward Mattingly, William Scarff.

CAPTAIN HENRY NEALE.

Was ensign of the Fifth (Seventh) Independent Company of the Maryland Line [McSherry, 379]. He became Captain of the Second Battalion, Colonel Thomas Price, March 27, 1777.

LIEUTENANT JAMES SEMMES.

Ensign of the First Battalion of the Maryland Line, March 27, 1777, under General Smallwood [*ibid,* 383]. He became Lieutenant of the Eighth Company of the Fourth Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Woolford, on May 27, 1778.

LIEUTENANT IGNATIUS SEMMES.

Was Second Lieutenant of the Second Battalion commanded by Colonel Thomas Price.

PATRICK McSHERRY.

The founder of McSherrystown, Pa. Member of the Committee of Correspondence of York County, Pa. He was born in Ireland in 1725. He married Catharine Gartland of Armagh. They came to America and settled in York (now Adams) County, Pennsylvania. On November 14, 1763, he purchased from Edward, Henry and William Digges—heirs of John Digges, deceased—a tract of one hundred and fifty acres situated in Heidelberg township, which was confirmed by release from Charles Carroll, Sr. and laid out in five-acre lots. The town of McSherrystown was thus established. He was a public man of some importance and a trusted Patriot in the cause of Independence. On November 3, 1775, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Correspondence of York County.

He was the father of eight children. His will is dated May 28, 1793, and was proved August 26, 1795. He died July 13, 1795, and was buried at Conewago chapel, but later his remains were removed to Littlestown where his wife, who died November 7, 1813, had removed after his death and died there where also Patrick had made his home the latter years of his life. [Riley's *Rec. Life Card. Gibbons,* II, 423.]

PAUL ESLING.

Paul Esling, a Philadelphia Catholic, was a private of the Third Company of the German Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Lewis Wiltner, according to the return of the Regiment, March, 1778. [*Pa. Ar.,* 5-3, 797.]

RUDOLPH ESLING.

Rudolph Esling, of Philadelphia, gunner of Captain Jonas Simond's Company and also of Captain Lee's Company of Second Artillery of Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel John Lamb, December 25, 1780. He was a witness, on July 2, 1767, to the marriage by Father Farmer of Emanuel Ohms [Holmes] and Margaret Esling. Holmes was a Portuguese Catholic and one of the Associators of the City of Philadelphia who, on January 21, 1776, was buried in St. Mary's graveyard with military honors.

On July 20, 1784, Rudolph Esling was married to Sarah Lawton by Father Ferdinand Farmer.

DR. JOSEPH CAUFFMAN, SURGEON OF THE "RANDOLPH" FRIGATE.

Joseph Cauffman, of Philadelphia, was a prominent Catholic of the City before and after the Revolutionary War. He was born at Strasburg, Alsace, in 1720 and came to Philadelphia in 1741. He died February 2, 1807. He was a Loyalist.

His son, Joseph, born in Philadelphia in 1755, was, in 1766, sent to the Jesuit College at Bruges. In 1771 he was sent to the University of Vienna where he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After a course of practice in the hospitals at London and Edinburg he returned to this country in 1777. He was given an appointment in the medical service of the new United States, although his father was a Loyalist to England. Early in 1778 when the frigate the "Randolph," commanded by Captain Nicholas Biddle, was ready for service Dr. Cauffman was appointed her Surgeon.

The "Randolph" was launched in 1776 and made her first cruise in 1777. Discovering a defect in the mast and a disposition to mutiny among the crew, many of whom were volunteers from among British prisoners, Captain Biddle put into Charleston for repairs. After refitting she sailed and in three days captured four Jamaica-bound British vessels, one of which, the "New Breton," had an armament of twenty guns. The "Randolph" returned to Charleston with her prizes. The authorities of South Carolina added four small vessels of war, the "General Moultrie," 18 guns; the "Polly," 16; the "Notre Dame," 16; the "Fair American," 14, to Captain Biddle's command.

With three vessels Captain Biddle sailed early in 1778 in quest of the British vessels—"Carysfort," 32; "Perseus," 20; "Hinchenbrook," 16, and a privateer.

On March 7, 1778, the "Yarmouth," British cruiser, was met. The "Randolph" gave her a "broadside and in about a quarter of an hour she blew up," reported Captain Vincent of the "Yarmouth." It is probable from the account of Captain Blake, who commanded the marines of the "Moultrie" of the squadron with the "Randolph," that the "Moultrie" fired a broadside into the "Randolph" and caused the explosion. [Rodenbough's *Autumn Leaves,* p. 36.]

All on board the "Randolph" were lost except four seamen who, three days afterwards, were found clinging to wreckage and were rescued by the "Yarmouth," the vessel against which they had fought.

Prior to the explosion Captain Biddle had been wounded in the thigh. While Dr. Cauffman was attending him the explosion occurred.

Robert Morris, in writing to Captain Biddle, Philadelphia, 15th February, 1777, as the "Randolph" was starting on her first cruise, said that as the frigate was "the first American frigate that has got out to sea it is expected that you will contest on all necessary occasions for the honour of the American flag." [*MS. Minute Book, Marine Committee*, Library of Congress, p. 56.]

Captain Biddle and Dr. Cauffman lost their lives while serving our Country. Young Cauffman, writing to his father in Philadelphia from Vienna, March 28, 1775, said:

"I have attained the 20th year of my age, which I've mostly spent far from friends and home, subject and an eye-witness of the different intrigues which ambition employs in her way to the Temple of Fame. Since I had attained by 11th year, when you thought proper to send me abroad amidst the dangerous rocks of intrigue, wickedness and an insnaring world. However, conducted by the fear due to the counsel of a parent I passed, untouched, and finished my studies at Bruges with that success which you so often confessed, proved agreeable to you. At length while still young and weak you resolved, a second time, to commit me to foreign climes, to reconnoitre, with eyes more clear, the dangers past and to render myself more firm in the knowledge of the world by applying to that study of Nature, viz: Medicine. Even here, as letters from Father Rector concerning my conduct have sufficiently demonstrated, I've executed your commands with that applause, which I have always envied. I am at present just three years passed at Vienna in which time I've not only completed my two years of Philosophy, but likewise almost a general course of Medicine."

He then set forth the prospects and possibilities of his future. He again wrote his father 15th July, 1776, in reply to his letter of February 28, 1776. [Rodenbough's *Autumn Leaves*, p. 26.]

In 1777 he returned home and on March 7, 1778, forfeited his life for our Country.

CATHOLICS AND THE GUARD OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—WASHINGTON

Washington's personal Guard was composed of selections made from other commands, "the flower and pick of the army," of "sober, young, active and well made" soldiers "five feet nine or ten."

The whole number detailed aggregated over three hundred, though at the close of the war the Guard numbered but sixty-four.

Washington ordered that only native-born Americans should compose the Guard. Yet there are known to have been two natives of Ireland and one native of England among the number so honored. James Blair, of Londonderry, New Hampshire, was born in Ireland in 1763. He died at Mill Village, Pa., in 1822. Robert Blair enlisted at Burlington, New Jersey, May 1, 1777, was born in Ireland in 1762. He died at Newburgh, New York, March 11, 1841. Timothy Carleton, of Massachusetts, was born in England in 1753. John Burkhardt, born in Switzerland, of Reading, Pa., "was a member of Washington's Life Guard through the war," according to *American Monthly,* June, 1908, p. 665, "Revolutionary Records."

How many were Catholics cannot be told. One Thomas McCarthy, of Haycock, Bucks County, Pa., is known to have been. It is possible that among those of Irish-Catholic names others might be added to McCarthy. Among these may be cited John Barton, Solomon Dailey, James Dady, Lewis Campbell, Charles Dougherty, Hugh Cull, James Hughes, Dennis Moriarty, William Hennussey, Jeremiah Driskell, Thomas Gillen, John Barry, James Bradley, William Darragh, Edmund Griffin, Thomas Hickey, Michael Lynch, James McDonald, William O'Neill, William Reilly, Timothy Smith, Michael Suttin, William Dunn, Michael Caswell, Edward Whelan, Charles, George and James Dougherty, John Kenny, William Roach and James Leary.

Surely a goodly proportion of these, no matter how wayward in the practice of their religion when opportunities were few, at least professed to be Catholics.

THOMAS McCARTHY.

As early as 1737, under Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors of Pennsylvania, Nicholas, Thomas and Edward McCarthy from the south of Ireland, located at the eastern base of Haycock mountain about five hundred acres on Haycock creek, partly in Haycock Township and partly in Nockamixon Township. Their descendants have grown to be very numerous and many still live in the same neighborhood where their fathers settled and by whose assistance a Catholic church was erected which is the oldest in the county.

Thomas McCarthy, son of John McCarthy, who died April 25, 1766, was one of Washington's Guard—the Commander-in-Chief's Guard. His record is:

Enlisted, Newtown, Pa., January 14, 1776, for three years, a furrier, Captain George Lewis' troop, Third Regiment, Continental Dragoons, commanded by Colonel George Baylor; assigned to the Cavalry of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, May 1, 1777. On rolls August 1, 1777. [Godfrey's *Com.-in-Chief Guard,* p. 214.]

CORPORAL DENNIS MORIARITY.

Surely one named Dennis Moriarity was "one of Us." He enlisted April 3, [9th], 1778, for the war, a private, Captain Michael Simpson's company, First Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel James Chambers; transferred, Morristown, N. J., March 20, 1780, to the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, commanded by Major Caleb Gibbs; was at battle of Connecticut Farms, N. J., June 7, 1780; skirmished at King's Bridge, New York, July 3, 1781; at Morristown 8th April, 1781; battle of Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781; sick in hospital at Philadelphia, March 1 to May 1, 1782; furloughed, Newburgh, N. Y., June 6, 1783, until the ratification of peace; discharged November 3, 1783; a Corporal.

There was a Timothy Moriety, of Chester, Pa., a private of Captain John Richardson's company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, who was captured November 16, 1776, paroled December 26, 1776.

Dennis Kelly, Michael Logan, both of Darby, Pa., and Patrick McCord, of Abington, were taken and paroled at the same time.

The following from the Boston *Herald* has been going the rounds of our Catholic papers:

Eugene Moriarity, who seemed to be a fixture in the Massachusetts Legislature some years ago, was at one time on the Worcester School Board. A fellow-member, the Rev. D. O. Mears, more than hinted at one meeting that there were altogether too many Irish names on the list of Worcester teachers.

The charge passed unchallenged at the time, but at the next meeting up rose Mr. Moriarity with this little gem: "Mr. President, at the last meeting of the board some one intimated that there are too many Irish names on our list of teachers. The next day I went up to the Public Library and saw our genial librarian, Mr. Green. 'Mr. Green,' I sez, 'have ye a dictionary of American names?' 'I have,' sez he. 'Is it complete?' sez I. 'It is,' sez he. 'Can I take it home?' sez I. 'Ye can,' sez he. Mr. President, I took it home; I searched it through and through, from cover to cover. I found no Mears in the book, but I found that Michael Moriarity was one of the body-guards of General Washington."

No Michael Moriarity was ever one of Washington's personal Guard. There was a Moriarity, but his name was Dennis.

JEREMIAH DRISKEL.

He enlisted as a private, Fourth Maryland Regiment, transferred, Morristown, N. J., December 31, 1779, to the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, commanded by Major Caleb Gibbs; was at battle of Connecticut Farms, N. J., June 7, 1780; skirmish at King's Bridge, N. Y., July 3, 1781; battle of Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781; furloughed, Newburgh, N. Y., June 6, 1783; discharged November 3, 1783.

So, too, we may count

HUGH HAGERTY.

He enlisted August 10, 1776, for three years; private, Pennsylvania Line; transferred at Valley Forge, March 19, 1778, to the Guard; was at battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778; discharged at West Point, August 10, 1779.

ANDREW O'BRIEN.

In the *Pennsylvania Archives,* 5th Series, Vol. III, it is recorded that on April 16, 1824, Andrew O'Brien, one of Washington's Body Guard, died in Philadelphia. But his name does

not appear in the records of the Guard as given in Godfrey's book, *The Commander-in-Chief's Guard.* Nor has any report of the death been found in the newspapers of the time. There can be but little doubt that an Andrew O'Brien was "one of Us"—and a Soldier of the Revolution.

JAMES DOUGHERTY,

One of Washington's Guard, died at Franklin, Pa., in 1849. He is buried on his farm at Wallaceville, Venango County, in an unmarked grave. "He was blind, very poor and intelligent to the last," writes Mr. I. M. Kean, of Franklin, Pa.

The records of most of the others named above might safely be given as of those who were baptized Catholics and were, while in service, at least, "nominal Catholics" or "ought-to-be's." Though even to so class might be an injustice to their memories, could we but know how their lives closed.

Their military careers can be read in Godfrey's book, *The Commander-in-Chief's Guard.* If all were not Catholics all may be safely classed as among "The Irish in the Revolution," even if a couple had not creditable records.

From a manuscript in the Library of Congress, *Washington Papers,* the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, on March 2, 1783, was composed of: Jeremiah Driscoll, Benjamin Eaton, Samuel Bailey, Robert Blair, Benjamin Bonnell, Davis Brown, Sergeant; Lewis Campbell, Caleb Gibbs, Major; William Coram, Joel Crosby, Hugh Cull, James Dady, ostler; Solomon Daily, Levi Deane, John Dent, Corporal; John Dother, John Finch, Robert Findley, George Fisher, cook; Lewis Flemister, Thomas Forrest, Adam Foutz, cook; Thomas Gillen, Elihu Hancock, Stephen Hatfield, William Hennessy, John Herrick, Corporal; Peter Holt, James Hughs, Wm. Hunter, Sergeant; Daniel Hymen, baker; William James, William Kavnahan, Diah Manning, Drum-Major; Isaac Manning, Fifer; Dennis Moriarity, Corporal; William Martin, Reaps Mitchel, Sergeant; John Montgomery, Jonathan Moore, Frederick Parks, William Pan, John Patton, John Philips, Sergeant; John Schriver, Randolph Smith, Samuel Smith, Reuben Thompson, Joseph Timberlake, Joseph Vinal, Henry Wakelee, Edward Weed, Enoch Wells, Edward Wiley, Cornelius Wilson, Drummer; Samuel Wortman.

THE CATHOLIC PRAYER BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION.

Two of the illustrations herewith given present to view the appearance of the first dated Catholic Prayer Book printed in Philadelphia when Pennsylvania was a British Colony.

A

MANUAL

OF

CATHOLIC PRAYERS.

In the Multitude of thy Mercy, I will come into thy Houſe;—I will worſhip towards thy holy Temple in thy Fear. PSALM v. 8.

PHILADELPHIA.

PRINTED for the SUBSCRIBERS,

By ROBERT BELL, Bookſeller, in *Third-ſtreet.*

M DCC LXXIV.

This "MANUAL OF CATHOLIC PRAYERS" was the one used during the Revolutionary War, which won the Liberty and Indepen-

dence of the Colonies. Not many of the prayers contained in the old book are in use to-day. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin contains but few of the titles applied to the Mother of God as contained in the Litany authorized and in use at the present time.

The prayers at Mass show a wide divergence from the method of to-day and some features wholly unknown now-a-days even to those of many years. Thus after the "Priest Kisses the Pax" there follows this direction to the laity: When you Kiss the Pax:

"Give Peace in our day, O Lord, because there is no other sighteth for us but only Thou, O Lord." [P. 63.]

In the Directions for "Behaviour on Receiving the Blessed Sacrament" the directions are that after receiving the Host and swallowing It to: "Then take the ablution which is a little wine or water." [P. 113.]

Then the receiver left the altar rail.

If this direction was followed by the laity in Philadelphia and elsewhere in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where alone Catholics were sufficient in numbers to have missions or visits from Priests, then a method was in operation of which no other account has come to us and which even the clergy, whom we have consulted, had no knowledge to have been practiced nor have we any tradition as having been the practice.

Who can enlighten us as to when this taking of the ablution by the laity ceased?

The only other copy known is in the Riggs Library of Georgetown College. Before the title is the "Proposals for Publishing by Subscription *The Catholic Christian Instructed.*" By R. C. —Bishop Richard Challoner. Also the *Conditions.* These are reproduced. Sometime in Colonial days, supposed to have been between 1770 and 1774, was printed by "Joseph Crukshank on Market Street between Second and Third, *The Garden of the Soul:* or a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who, living in the World, Aspire to Devotions."

The copy of the *Manual of Catholic Prayers* belongs to Mr. Francis J. Martin, who inherited from his mother, Theresa Martin, who received from her mother, Mary Ann Rementer Hunter, who wrote her name on the fly-leaf in "1810." She inherited from her father, Peter Rementer, whose signature in "1806" also appears in the book. He received from his father, Peter Rementer, who emigrated to this country from Germany in Colonial days. He and

his son are buried in old St. Mary's graveyard, South Fourth Street. Peter Rementer (Regimenter on the register), on August 23, 1772,

PROPOSALS

For PRINTING by *SUBSCRIPTION*,

Peter Rementer his Book

Catholic Chriſtian

INSTRUCTED.

IN THE

Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies, and Obſervances of the CHURCH.

BY WAY OF

QUESTION and *ANSWER.*

By R—— C——

PHILADELPHIA.

Printed by ROBERT BELL, in *Third-ſtreet.*

M DCC LXXIV.

married Mary Magdalene Mayer. On July 24, 1776, he was sponsor for Mary Magdalene Jung. His daughter Catharine, born June

27, 1778, was baptized July 1, 1778. Other descendants owned the ground, Twenty-eighth and Diamond, on which is to be erected

CONDITIONS.

The *AMERICAN* EDITION of the CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTED, will be printed in ONE Volume *Duodecimo*, containing about 250 Pages, agreeable to the Specimen.

II. The Price to Subſcribers will be only *Four Shillings*, half to be paid at the Time of Subſcribing, and the other half on Delivery of the Book, neatly bound and lettered.

III. The Work ſhall be put to Preſs as ſoon as *Five Hundred* Subſcribers are pleaſed to approve of theſe Conditions.

IV. The Subſcribers Names ſhall be printed if deſired, and one to each Dozen will be allowed *Gratis* to thoſe who either ſubſcribe for one Dozen, or collect the Names of Subſcribers.

*** SUBSCRIPTIONS are received by Robert Bell, Bookſeller, *Third-ſtreet*,—Arthur John O'Neill, *Fourth-ſtreet*,—Patrick Hogan, Tallow-Chandler and Soap-boiler, *Pear-ſtreet*,—James Gallagher, Storekeeper, *Front-ſtreet*, *Philadelphia*;——William Cullen, Storekeeper, *Pottſgrove*,——Mark Wilcox, Paper-maker, *Concord*, *Cheſter-County*;—— ——— Welſh, Storekeeper in *Baltimore-town*, *Maryland*.

the Church of the Most Precious Blood by Rev. Joseph L. J. Kirlin, now writing the History of the Church in the Diocese of Philadelphia.

STEPHEN MOYLAN

Muster-Master General
Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Washington
Quartermaster-General
Colonel of Fourth Pennsylvania Light Dragoons and
Brigadier-General of the War for American Independence

The First and the Last President of the
Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia

BY

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

PHILADELPHIA
1909

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BY
MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

STEPHEN MOYLAN, MUSTER-MASTER GENERAL, SECRETARY AND AIDE-DE-CAMP TO WASHINGTON, QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, COLONEL OF 4TH PENNSYLVANIA LIGHT DRAGOONS AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL OF THE WAR FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE—THE FIRST AND THE LAST PRESIDENT OF THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK OF PHILADELPHIA.

By Martin I. J. Griffin.

"Shall we never leave off debating and boldly declare Independence?" [Moylan to Reed, Jan. 30, 1776.]

"America will—it must—be free." [Moylan to Robert Morris after Battle of Princeton.]

"I entered the service in the first year of the war, with a firm determination of prosecuting it to the end. I made up my mind, and my affairs for that purpose. I have shared its fatigues, its dangers and its pleasures with Your Excellency ever since—a man who has sacrificed everything for the service of his country." [Moylan to Washington, December 15, 1782.]

THE MOYLAN FAMILY.

General Stephen Moylan, of the American Revolutionary Army, was born in 1737 at Cork, Ireland.

According to Campbell's *History of the Hibernian Society and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,* Stephen Moylan was the son of John Moylan and the Countess of Limerick.

The Letters of Abbé Edgeworth and Memoir of his Life, by Father England, pastor of Passage near Cork, brother of Bishop England of Charleston, South Carolina, says John Moylan was "extensively engaged in mercantile pursuits."

He died in 1799, probably in Dublin. An abstract of his will, on record at the Four Courts, Dublin, relates:

John Moylan, of the city of Cork, merchant, being now on the eve of my departure for England, do make this my last will and testament.

To wife, Mary Moylan, the entire of my property in money, goods, debts or lands, in confidence that she will dispose of it amongst my children.

To David Andre, Esq., of London (as a small compensation for the heavy loss he formerly sustained by me and my brother), the sum of £500.

"I lament that I have it not in my power to leave my children in better circumstances, but my own misfortunes were great and heavy for a number of years, and it was only within these last three years that it pleased God to give me some little success."

Sole executrix, Said Wife.

Dated 28 June, 1797.

JOHN MOYLAN.

Declaration of Stephen Roche, Jun., of North Great George's Street in the city of Dublin, Esq. Sworn 12 Nov., 1799.

Proved 13 Nov., 1799, by Mary Moylan, widow of testator and sole executrix named in will.

Campbell states that the children of John Moylan and the Countess were Stephen, Francis and two daughters who became Ursuline Nuns. By his second wife, Mary, he had issue Jasper and John.

On a recent visit to Cork the compiler discovered the granddaughter of another son, Richard. There was also a son named James, as General Moylan in writing to General Washington spoke of a James Moylan as "a brother." He was a resident of Philadelphia in 1771-2 and during the Revolution was Agent of the United States in France in partnership with Gourlade in furnishing supplies to American cruisers. This is sustained by the Letters of Abbé Edgeworth saying that two sons of John Moylan "at an early age emigrated to America and served with success the American colonies as general officers in the eventful contest which terminated in the freedom of the United States."

At the time of the birth of Stephen, as well as that of his brothers and sisters, the Catholic religion in Ireland was under penal-law restrictions and penalties. Yet the Moylan family were so strong-hearted in the principles of faith and piety that Francis

became a priest and subsequently Bishop of Cork, and the two daughters became Ursuline Nuns.

Mary Moylan—Sister Mary Aloysius—was born July 29, 1753, and entered the novitiate of the Ursulines of Cork on December 25, 1771; was professed April 26, 1774. During her life, a long one, she filled with great credit the principal posts in the Convent and was much loved and respected by the community and pupils. She lived to the advanced age of ninety, dying April 26, 1842.

Her sister, Miss B. Moylan, joined the Ursulines July 2, 1780; was professed January 13, 1783, and after several years of ill health died in October, 1842. Her name in religion was Sister Mary John Evangelist. [Records of the Convent at Blackrock, Ireland.]

There was also a daughter Anne; the residuary legatee of her brother the Bishop. This would make eight children of John Moylan.

"The Moylans were merchants, established in business probably as early as 1720. Dennis Moylan, the uncle of Stephen, who died in 1772, held the government contract for the commissariat of the Isle of Bourbon." [Campbell.]

His name was probably David.

Another uncle, Rev. Patrick Doran, a Jesuit, died in Cork in 1771-2 and was buried in the family burial lot in Upper Shandon. [Foley's *Records,* S. J., VII, p. 81.]

The penal laws against Catholics debarred their education in Ireland:

"If any Papist shall publicly teach school or instruct youth in learning in any private house, or shall be entertained to instruct youth, as usher or assistant to any Protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed a Popish regular clergyman and prosecuted as such, and shall incur such penalties and forfeitures as any Popish regular convict is liable unto."

Even the sending of youth abroad to be educated was a penal offense. Yet Stephen and Francis "were smuggled out of the country to France for their education," says Campbell. It is probable that, as the Moylan brothers were engaged in commerce at Lisbon, that it was in that city of Portugal they were educated, and that there Stephen entered into business before coming to America. But as Stephen at one time desired to represent the United States in Spain, it is possible, however, that he may have been educated in that country.

At Lisbon, Portugal, in 1765 he was associated in business with David Moylan and Edward Forrest. The Registry of Vessels at the Port of Philadelphia for that year records the brigantine "John and David," of one hundred tons, built at Philadelphia, as being owned by John and David Moylan of Cork and Messrs. David and Stephen Moylan and Edward Forrest, British subjects residing at Lisbon. George Gould was Master.

John, of Cork, was the father of Stephen, of Lisbon. David, of Cork, was the brother of John and uncle of Stephen. David, of Lisbon, was, doubtless, the son of David, of Cork. So that the fathers in Cork were in business with their sons in Lisbon.

General Moylan's brother Francis, born September 17, 1735, was consecrated Bishop of Kerry in 1774, and died February 10, 1815. In 1786 he was translated to Cork to succeed Bishop John Butler who, at the age of seventy years, had apostatized and married, to inherit the estate of the Earl of Dunboyne. On August 22, 1787, in the Protestant Church of Clonmel he "read his recantation of the errors of the Church of Rome." He died May 8, 1800, repentant, bequeathing property to the Catholic College at Maynooth.

Bishop Moylan was educated at Paris and afterwards at the University of Toulouse, where he studied Theology. He was buried in a vault in his cathedral.

References—Short Life of Dr. Moylan in an appendix to Hutch's Life of Nano Nagle, Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth to his Friends with Memoirs of his Life, including some account of Dr. Moylan by the Rev. T. R. England, Fitzpatrick's Irish Wits and Worthies, Fitzpatrick's Secret Service under Pitt, Castlereagh Papers, Sarah Atkinson's Life of Mary Aikenhead, Husenbeth's Life of Dr. Milner, O'Renehan's Collections on Irish Church History, Caulfield's Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork, History of Nat. Biog.

His will sets forth:

Francis Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork. To the Rev. John Murphy, Rev. Jeremiah Collins and Rev. John England of this city, priests, all the government debentures deposited in the hands of Messrs John Roche & Co., Dublin, by Messrs Stephen & James Roche of this city, Bankers, for my account. I also bequeath to them Pierse & Christina's bond of £400 with interest . . . in

trust. . . . I appoint my sister Anne my residuary legatee. Executors, said trustees.

D. 13 April, 1814.

F. MOYLAN.

Description of Property.

To be interred in the vault of this chapel.

Codicil d. 13 April, 1814.

2d codicil. . . .

Will & two codicils proved 12 Sept., 1815, by Rev. John England, one of the executors.

Stephen Moylan "received a good education, resided in England and then came to America, where he traveled extensively and finally settled in Philadelphia," says Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography.* [IV, 1888.]

STEPHEN MOYLAN IN AMERICA.

He came to Philadelphia in 1768. Though then but a young man of about thirty he must have been in possession of means to warrant his being received into the social element of the chief city of the Province and to have had the education and polite accomplishments justifying his entry and association with the leading men of the city and to have found his Faith no debarment of the recognition due a gentleman.

He engaged in commerce. On November 11, 1768, the brigantine "Richard Penn," of 30 tons, built at Philadelphia, James Galoway, Master, was registered as owned by Stephen Moylan of Philadelphia.

The following April 7, 1769, the brigantine "Minerva," George Barwick, Master, 120 tons, is also registered. Stephen Moylan, owner.

An advertisement dated March 23, 1769, by William Kelley, offers for sale or "lett," "two thousand acres in Morris County, New Jersey, as healthy a country as any in the world," fifteen miles from Newark, "a sea port town," and twenty-three miles from New York. Among those of whom inquiries might be made was Stephen Moylan, Esq., of Philadelphia. [*Pa. Gaz.,* May 18th: Supplement No. 2108.]

The affix "Esq." had, in those days, more significance than in our times, when indeed it may be said it has none, so commonly is it applied. But in Colonial days it was a title of import, indicating a social condition and position distinguishing the one to whom it was applied as one of character and standing in the community.

On October 27, 1769, was registered the snow "Ceres" of 100 tons, built at Philadelphia and owned by Edward Forrest, Andrew Morrogh, Patrick James Morrogh, Dennis Conwell, Andrew Morrony, British subjects residing at Lisbon, and Stephen Moylan and Nicholas Bodkin both of Philadelphia. Bodkin was the Master of the vessel.

On August 27, 1770, the sloop "Santa Maria," built at Kingston, Province of Massachusetts Bay, 70 tons, Thomas Bell, Master, is registered as being owned by John Kennedy, a British merchant residing in the Island of Porto Rico and by Messrs. Willing and Morris, Stephen Moylan and William Marshall, all of Philadelphia.

On October 4, 1770, the ship "Don Carlos," a British-built vessel rebuilt at Cork, of 100 tons, Terrence Connor, Master, is registered as owned by Edward Forrest, a British subject residing at Lisbon, John and David Moylan of Cork and Stephen Moylan of Philadelphia.

But Captain Terrence Connor must not long have commanded the ship, for the following April (1771) he is registered as owner and Master of the schooner "Don Carlos," of thirty-five tons, built in the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

In 1770 Mr. Moylan became a member of the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club. This is another indication of his social status among the well-born and well-to-do people of the Province. We find this much more clearly shown by an entry in the diary of John Adams while attending the first Continental Congress when, on September 24, 1774, he records having "dined with Richard Penn; a magnificent house and most splendid feast and a very large company; Mr. Dickinson and General Lee were there and Mr. Moylan, besides a great number of the Delegates."

The distinction of "Mr. Moylan" must have been high amid the "very large company" to have warranted such a noting, especially when associated in mind with two such celebrities of that day as John Dickinson, author of "The Farmer's Letters," and General Charles Lee who, next year, was appointed second to Washington in command of the American Army raised to resist Great Britain.

THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1771, was formed the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. At its organization it had twenty-four regular members and six honorary members. It was composed mainly of "prosperous merchants," many of them engaged in the shipping and importing business and dealing in European and East India goods." [Campbell.]

Stephen Moylan was elected the first President of The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, though but two of his fellow-members, Thomas FitzSimons and George Meade were Catholics. This shows how free of religious prejudice were the founders of this most patriotic and worthy society. That spirit of liberality and justice ever pervaded The Sons of St. Patrick during its existence and is perpetuated in its successor, if not heir, the present Friendly Sons of St. Patrick for the Relief of Immigrants from Ireland.

Stephen Moylan served as President until June 17, 1773, when John M. Nesbitt succeeded, as Mr. Moylan was reported as "beyond sea," as were also Thomas FitzSimons and Ulysses Lynch.

At the St. Patrick's Day dinner of 1775 FitzSimons was present but Moylan was fined *7s 6d* for absence. This indicates he was in the city. Moylan appears not to have been present afterwards until the December meeting in 1781, but to have been "at camp" from 1775. He was present on St. Patrick's Day, 1782, but at June, 1782, and March, 1783, was at "camp." At September, 1783, he was "beyond sea," but present on St. Patrick's Day, 1784, when also Commodore John Barry, so long absent, also attended. On St. Patrick's Day, 1786, he is recorded present as "General Moylan." Ten years later he was elected President and Thomas FitzSimons Vice-President. No further records have been discovered. Associating, as we have seen, with the Delegates to the First Continental Congress and moving in the select social circles of the principal city of the Province, the foremost characters of the day called him "Friend," as did the author of the celebrated "Farmer's Letters," John Dickinson.

The Second Congress of the Continent met at the State House, Philadelphia, on May 10, 1775. The following month, Delegate George Washington, of Virginia, was elected Commander-in-Chief of all the forces besieging the British at Boston.

THE REVOLUTION.

The Revolution was on. War existed. The Colonies had not only resisted and fought the armed forces of England but had concentrated their resistance and chosen a Chief to command the disjointed forces which had battled with the British army and were assembled around Boston. Moylan was aroused and would add his endeavors to those battling for Liberty. "He desired to place himself in the line of usefulness for his adopted country." So from his friend John Dickinson he obtained this letter of introduction to Washington, then at camp at Cambridge, Massachusetts:

JOHN DICKINSON INTRODUCES MOYLAN TO WASHINGTON.

Dear Sir:—Mr. Moylan, a friend of mine, informs me that he intends to enter into the American Army. As he resided some years in this City and was much esteemed here, I sincerely hope he will be so happy as to recommend himself to your favour, which I am convinc'd he will endeavour to deserve.

I heartily wish you every kind of Happiness and am, Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Philadelphia,

July 25, 1775.

General Washington.

Endorsed by Washington: "From Jno Dickinson, Esq., 25th July, 1775."

[Potter's *Monthly*, Vol. VI, p. 14, 1876.]

To the letter Washington replied:

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 30, '75.

Dear Sir:—Your favour of 25 ult. recommendatory of Mr. Moylan came duly to hand and I have the pleasure to inform you that he is now appointed Commissary-General of Musters—one of the offices which the Congress was pleased to leave at my disposal. I have no doubt, from your account of this Gentleman, of his discharging the duty with honour and fidelity.

For the occurrences of the Camp, I refer to my publick letters, address'd to Mr. Hancock, and am, with sincere regard,

Dr. Sir, Yr. Most Obedt Hble Servt,

To John Dickinson, Esq., Philadelphia.

GO. WASHINGTON.

[Dawson's *His. Mag.*, Aug., 1859, p. 243.]

APPOINTED MUSTER-MASTER.

On August 11, 1775, Washington had issued this order:

"The Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Stephen Moylan, Esq., to be Muster-Master General to the Army of the United Colonies. He is in all things touching his duty as Muster-Master General, to be considered and obeyed as such."

On the 14th Washington appointed Major Thomas Mifflin Quartermaster-General, and ordered:

"As the troops are all to be mustered as soon as possible, the Muster-Master General, Stephen Moylan, Esq., will deliver the commanding officer of each regiment thirty blank muster rolls, upon Friday next, and directions for each Captain how he is to fill up the blanks." [*Am. Ar.*, 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 250.]

CONDITIONS OF THE ARMY.

The condition of the army at the time Moylan was appointed Muster-Master General is set forth by Moylan's associate, Colonel Joseph Reed, in a letter to Elias Boudinot dated "Camp at Cambridge, August 13, 1775":

"We heard, and we find it true, that the Army was a scene of disorder and confusion, that the Officers were not only ignorant and litigious but scandalously disobedient, and in the last action many of them proved such notorious cowards that the very existence of the army, and consequently the salvation of America, depended upon an immediate reform. This could never have been made among themselves. It required all the weight and influence of General Washington, under a Continental commission and assisted by every one around him in whom he could confide, to execute this necessary work. . . . Such a scene opened to the General that I assure you there was reason to fear his supporting himself under it, if those of us who accompanied him had not pledged ourselves to give him every aid in our power. He expressed himself to me in such terms that I thought myself bound by every tie of duty and honour to comply with his request to help him through this sea of difficulties. The men who compose the army are tractable and generally well behaved, but by suffering them to choose their own officers it seems to me they have excluded every gentleman and have picked out such as would give them every indulgence or sought the service for the profit." [*MS.*]

Washington, writing, on August 29, 1775, to Richard Henry Lee, said:

"As we have now nearly completed our lines of defence, we have nothing more in my opinion to fear from the Enemy, providing we can keep our men to their duty and make them watchful and vigilant; but it is among the most difficult tasks I ever undertook in my life to induce the people to believe that there is or can be danger till the Bayonet is pushed at their breasts; not that it proceeds from any uncommon prowess, but rather from an unaccountable kind of stupidity in the lower class of these people, which believe me prevails but too generally among the officers of the Massachusetts part of the Army, who are nearly of the same kidney with privates. . . .

"There is no such thing as getting officers of this stamp to exert themselves in carrying orders into execution—to curry favour with men (by whom they were chosen, and on whose smiles possibly they may think they may again rely) seems to be one of the principal objects of their attention. . . .

"On Saturday night last we took possession of a spot within point blank shot of the enemy on Charlestown neck, worked incessantly the whole night with 1,200 men, and threw up an intrenchment such as to bid defiance to their cannon; about nine o'clock on Sunday they began a heavy cannonade which continued through the day without any injury to our work, and with the loss of four men only, two of which were killed. The cannonade however we were twice obliged to submit to with impunity not daring to make use of artillery on acct. of the consumption of powder, except with one nine pounder placed on a point, with which we silenced, & indeed sunk, one of their Floating Batteries.

"This move of ours, was made to prevent the Enemy from gaining this hill and we thought was giving them a fair challenge to dispute it for we had been told by various people who had just left Boston, that they were preparing to come out, but instead of accepting of it we learn that it has thrown them into great consternation. Yesterday afternoon they began a Bombardment without any effect, as yet." [*MS.*]

MOYLAN FITS OUT ARMED VESSELS.

In October, 1775, Congress learned that there had sailed from England, without convoy, "two north country built brigs of no

force loaded with arms, powder and other stores for Quebeck which it being of importance to intercept," General Washington, on October 4th, was directed to "apply to the Council of Massachusetts Bay for two armed vessels in their service and despatch the same with sufficient number of people, stores, &c., particularly a number of oars, in order, if possible, to intercept the said two brigs and their cargoes, and to secure the same for the use of the Continent; also any other transports laden with ammunition, clothing or other stores, for the use of the ministerial army or Navy in America, and to secure them in the most convenient places for the purpose above mentioned; . . . that the General be directed to employ the said vessels and others, if he judge necessary, to effect the purpose and that he be informed that Rhode Island and Connecticut vessels of force will be sent directly after them, to their assistance."

Though these were "privateers," as Washington spoke of them, the fitting out of these armed vessels may be said to be the beginning of the Navy of the United Colonies. It was designed not to attack British armed vessels but to intercept unarmed supply vessels without force so as to capture the supplies going to Quebeck to the British forces there, and later those going to Boston where the British were besieged.

It was with the fitting out of the two and, later, seven armed vessels that the Muster-Master General coöperated with Colonel John Glover of the Marblehead "Marine" Regiment composed principally of seafaring men.

On October 4, 1775, Washington appointed Colonel John Glover and Muster-Master General Moylan to fit out two "prime sailers, to put them in the best order and lose no time." So Colonel Joseph Reed wrote, by direction of General Washington, to Colonel Glover, at Marblehead on October 4, 1775, adding:

"Mr. Moylan, the Muster-Master General is associated with you in this business; and whatever engagements are entered into by you and Mr. Moylan, when you may happen to be together, or by either in case one goes to Newbury, the General will fully ratify and confirm."

"Instructions" were also sent as to the kind of vessels, their appraisements, armament, etc.

On the 7th of October Washington wrote Moylan at Salem or Marblehead that if he thought he could, without inconvenience, go

to Portsmouth to conduct matters relative to a supply of flour to do so and settle the matter on the best terms.

Two days later Moylan and Glover wrote Washington from Salem that owing to difficulty of procuring carpenters it would be Saturday before the first vessel would be ready, and on that day the Captain and Company might be sent. On the following Wednesday the other vessel would be ready.

They related the difficulties which occurred in the hiring of the vessels; that a schooner had been hired from Mr. Stevens of Marblehead noted for her good qualities and would be ready in twelve or fourteen days; that yesterday two large ships of war were seen coming out of Boston harbor, which it was believed were going to Portsmouth. "Mr. Moylan will set out for that place to-morrow."

"Your Excellency may be assured we have used our best intelligence in transacting this business and will continue to do so in fitting them out, appointing agents and in every command you may please to honour us with."

On October 11, 1775, Colonel Reed, for Washington, replied that it was "a disappointment that the vessels cannot be got ready sooner," as a "number of transports from England are hourly expected on the coast." So Washington directed: "Not a moment of time be lost in getting them ready and proceed to Newbury and take up a fourth vessel on the same service. Should Mr. Moylan be gone to Portsmouth, Colonel Glover was to forward this letter by express that he may return to Newburyport to take up the fourth vessel and let us know what he will want to equip the vessel for sea."

The vessels of Captain Nicholas Broughton and Captain John Selman were engaged and fitted out. On October 12th Colonel Reed notified both: "Lose no time. Everything depends upon expedition."

Broughton was appointed Captain and directed to "proceed on board the schooner 'Hannah' at Beverly" and to "cruise against such vessels as may be found on the high seas in the service of the Ministerial Army and to seize all such vessels laden with soldiers, arms, ammunition or provisions."

On October 10, 1775, Moylan was at Newbury, Mass., and there appointed Tristam Dalton, Agent, to take care of any prizes that might be sent in by the three armed schooners fitting out to distress the enemy in Boston.

From Newburg Moylan went to Portsmouth where he arrived on 11th. He delivered to the Chairman of the Committee of Safety Colonel Reed's letter, with the result that the Committee agreed to deliver to Moylan 1200 barrels of flour and would let him know what would be done with the rest of the cargo when they heard from General Washington, to whom they had written, "but," reported Moylan to Washington, "as a half loaf is better than no bread, I told them I would take immediate charge thereof, and yesterday I engaged two sloops to begin the transportation."

Concerning the flour he wrote: "I find by having had a few barrels weighed they fall short 3, 4 & 5 pounds of the weight marked on them, and as it will probably become a Continental charge I have thought it best to have them all weighed, that the publick, or the commissary into whose hands they may fall, may not pay for more flour than they really have. As there are people in this town inimical to the Cause, I think it best (in part) to keep it secret where the flour is to be landed. The engagements I have made are that they must proceed to Newburg, Ipswich, Cape Ann, Salem or Marblehead according to the orders I shall give them when going to sea."

He reported that he had appointed Tristram Dalton Agent for the prizes and also Colonel Joshua Wentworth for the Province, who are "to obey all orders received from Headquarters."

He requested Washington to send him two hundred and forty dollars to pay freight and other charges.

To this report came the reply: "The General is pleased with your proceedings." Colonel Reed added: "We are very anxious to hear of the armed vessels being ready for sea. Every day, every hour is precious. It is now fourteen days since they were set on foot. Sure they cannot be much longer in preparing."

The $240 were sent by messenger.

Washington, writing to his brother, John Augustine, October 13, 1775, said:

"Finding that we were in no danger of a visit from our neighbours, I have fitted out and am fitting out several privateers with soldiers who have been bred to the sea; and I have no doubt of making captures of several of their transports, some of which have already fallen into our hands laden with provisions." [*Am. Ar.*, 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 1055.]

The armed vessels fitting out were the schooners "Lynch,"

Captain Nicholas Broughton, and the "Franklin," Captain John Selman. They were named after two of the Committee of Congress consulting with Washington. Later the "Harrison," after the third member of the Committee, was fitted out as were the "Lee," the "Warren" and the "Washington." About January 1, 1776, the "Hancock" was added. Of this fleet Washington had the entire command, Moylan conducting the correspondence after having fitted the vessels out. In January Captain Manly was appointed by Washington commodore of the fleet.

It is to be remembered these were not Continental vessels but "privateers," as Washington called the vessels which he fitted out to prey upon unarmed supply vessels. Congress was at this time promoting the fitting out of armed vessels under Continental authority to attack armed vessels of the British. The first was the "Lexington," to which Captain John Barry was appointed, on December 7, 1775, Captain, and the "Reprisal," of which Captain Wickes was made Commander the same day.

On October 16, 1775, Washington sent orders to Moylan and Glover, then at Marblehead, that the two vessels must be immediately dispatched. At the same time he ordered Captain Broughton to "proceed to intercept two north-country brigantines of no force" bound for Quebec laden with 6,000 stand of arms, powder and other stores. Captain Selman received the same order but to act with Broughton whom he was to consider as Commodore.

But the vessels were not ready and would not be for two weeks. "If not soon at sea," wrote Colonel Reed, "we shall heartily regret it was ever undertaken." On the 19th he wrote Moylan: "For God's sake hurry off the vessels; transports without convoy arrive every day at Boston." Moylan and Glover that day wrote Reed to inform Washington that the two vessels "will both be ready to sail to-morrow. Mr. Moylan has the pleasure to inform His Excellency that the flour is all arrived."

MOYLAN AND A FLAG.

On the 20th Reed wrote to Moylan and Glover that British squadron is bombarding Falmouth and Portsmouth. Our vessels must be careful how they fall in with them. "Please fix upon some particular color for a flag and a signal by which our vessels may know one another. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, the motto 'Appeal to Heaven'? This

is the flag of our floating batteries. We are fitting out two vessels at Plymouth and when I hear from you on this subject I will let them know the flag and signal, that we may distinguish our friends from our foes."

Next day from Beverly Moylan and Glover notified Reed: "The schooners sailed this morning. As they had none but their old colours, we appointed them a signal, that they may know each other by, and be known by their friends—the ensign up to the main topping lift."

"Mr. Moylan has ordered 300 bbls. of flour that was at Ipswich to this place for the use of the Navy; it saves some miles of land carriage." Among the articles wanted "immediately" were "two signal flags."

"THE SPIRIT OF EQUALITY."

The vessels of Broughton and Selman having been despatched two others were being fitted out. Moylan, on the 24th, wrote Reed:

"I wish with all my soul that these two vessels were dispatchd cheifly for the publick service, & also that I may have the pleasure of seeing my friends Mr. Lynch & Col. Harrison, I want much to be introduced to Doctor Franklin for whom I have many years a vast veneration. I think they will be off on Thursday evening, if they are, I will be with you on Friday.

"Col. Glover shewed me a Letter of yours which has mortified him much, I realy & sincerely believe he has the cause much at heart, & that he has done his best (in the fitting out these four last vessells), for the publick service you cannot conceive the difficulty the trouble & the delay there is in procuring the thousand things necessary for one of these vessells, I dare say one of them might be fitted in Philadelphia or New York in three days, because you would know where to apply for the different articles but here you must search all over Salem, Marblehead, Danvers & Beverly for every little thing that is wanted. I must add to these the jobbing of the carpenters, who are to be sure the idlest scoundrels in nature, if I could have procured others, I should have dismissed the whole gang of them last Friday, & such religious rascalls are they, that we could not prevail on them to work on the Sabbath. I have stuck very close to them since & what by scolding & crying shame for their torylike disposition in retarding the work I think they mend something.

"There is one reason, & I think a substantial one, why a person born in the same town or neighborhood should not be employed on publick affair of this nature in that town or neighborhood, it is that the spirit of equality which reigns thro this country, will make him afraid of exerting that authority necessary for the expediteing his business, he must shake every man by the hand, & desire, beg & pray, do brother, do my friend, do such a thing, whereas a few hearty damns from a person who did not care a damn for them would have a much better effect, this I know by experience, for your future government—indeed I could give other reasons, but I think this sufficient."

Concerning this spirit of "equality" which pervaded the army General Wilkinson in his *Memoirs* states: "On entering the camp near Boston, I was struck with the familiarity which prevailed among the soldiers and officers of all ranks; from the Colonel to the private, I observed but little distinction; and I could not refrain from remarking that the military discipline of their troops was not so conspicuous as the civil subordination of the country in which I lived."

Washington, writing to Congress, September 21, 1775, relative to the pay of officers, declared it "is one great source of that familiarity between officers and men which is so incompatible with subordination and discipline."

On October 25, 1775, Colonel Reed wrote Glover and Moylan at Salem or Marblehead: That intelligence from Boston was that "a transport with 1200 bbls. of powder, without convoy or force, had been missing and expect to fall in our hands." A large schooner carrying ten guns would be fitted out. "I have given them the signals." [*Washington Papers,* VIII.]

On 27th Moylan, from Beverly, wrote Reed that young Captain Glover had returned without the 300 swivel shot—the "most material article." He says there were none, but there were plenty of "4-oz. bullets which, if he had had one ounce of sense must have known would answer all the purposes."

"Captain Manly's vessel is all ready. We now only wait the collecting together his hopeful crew to send him off. I have declared that if there are even thirty on board to-morrow morning and the wind proves fair that he shall hoist sail. I am much grieved that I had not the pleasure of seeing Mr. Lynch and Col. Harrison. I regard them highly. Dr. Franklin is going and you

are also on the wing. Every one engaged in this contest must sacrifice their private satisfaction to the public good." [*Washington's Papers,* Vol. VIII.]

On October 28th Moylan and Glover wrote Colonel Reed that Captain Glover had brought "all the things we wrote for" except the 300 swivel shot which were not to be had. There was a shortage of ammunition for Captain Adams whose vessel was ready but there was no appearance of him or his men. "Captain Manly is off and only waits a fair wind to proceed to sea."

Reed replied on the 30th and added, "I am just starting for Philadelphia."

Washington felt the loss of the services of Reed very much. Edmund Randolph and George Baylor had, on August 15th, been appointed to aid Reed. After Reed's retirement Robert Hanson Harrison, on November 5th, became Secretary. At this time Moylan was at the Camp at Cambridge as Mustermaster-General, but frequently acting as Secretary *pro tem* for the General.

On November 20, 1775, Washington wrote Reed:

MOYLAN "VERY OBLIGING."

"You can judge that I feel the want of you when I inform you that the peculiar situation of Mr. Randolph's affairs obliged him to leave this place soon after you did; that Mr. Baylor, contrary to my expectations, is not in the smallest degree a penman, though spirited and willing; and that Mr. Harrison, though sensible, clear and perfectly confidential, has never yet moved upon so large a scale as to comprehend at one view the diversity of matter which comes before me, so as to afford that ready assistance, which every man in my situation must stand more or less in need of. Mr. Moylan, it is true, is very obliging; he gives me what assistance he can; but other business must necessarily deprive me of his aid in a very short time." [*Amer. Arch.,* 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 1619.]

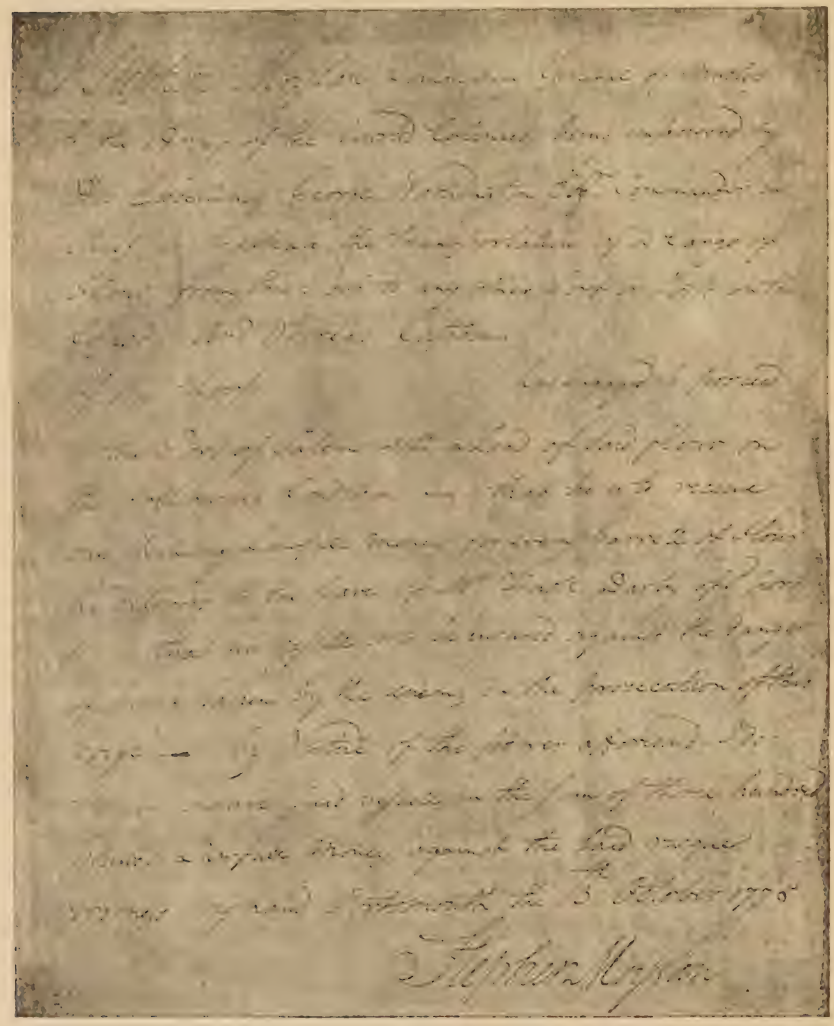
To show the assistance of Moylan at this time observe the numerous letters written by him on Washington's affairs which appear in this narration.

WASHINGTON LAMENTS THE DEARTH OF PUBLIC SPIRIT.

Washington wrote to Reed on 28th November, 1775:

"Such a dearth of public spirit and such want of virtue, such stock jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages,

of one kind or another, I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again. . . . Could I have forseen what I have



HANDWRITING OF MOYLAN

and am like to experience no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A Regiment or any subordinate department would have been accompanied with ten times

the satisfaction—perhaps the honour. . . . I find it necessary that the aids to the commander-in-chief should be ready at their pen to give that ready assistance expected of them. What can your brethren of the law mean by saying your perquisites as Secretary must be considerable? I am sure they have not amounted to one farthing." [*Life Reed,* I, 132; *Sparks',* III, 178.]

MOYLAN'S LETTERS.

From Cambridge, November 4, 1775, Moylan wrote the Committee of Safety of Dedham, Mass., that Washington had received a letter from David Parker in which he most pathetically deplores his situation and made "the most solemn assurances of contrition for the part he acted and strong declarations of his regard for the liberties of his Country, he prays that the arrest under which he now is may be removed."

Washington had "no objection to his enlargement," provided he "can make it clear to the Committee that he is no longer inimical to the Country." Moylan likewise wrote Parker to the same purport. He also expressed to Samuel Goodwin, Washington's pleasure at his having supplied General Arnold with the plans of his route to Quebec—that "if it should be found necessary to lay out the road," Washington "won't be unmindful" of Goodwin's services.

On November 5, 1775, Moylan wrote Bartlett relative to the capture of a sloop from Boston by Captain Brown. That Washington directed an inventory be made of the goods. That the General would make such satisfaction to the two resolute fellows who first ventured on board as is in such cases proper and customary. "Providence," concluded Moylan, "has sent us a good supply of wine by a vessel from Philadelphia, being stranded at Eastham with 120 pipes bound to Boston of which 118 are ordered to Cambridge." [*Am. Ar.,* 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 1367.]

Later he wrote Watson, Agent at Plymouth, that the wine belonged to Thomas Satler of Philadelphia and was not intended for the enemy. So he was to have it stored and await directions.

The following day he notified Watson to send the wine to Washington's camp, where it would "be sold for the public use and bring a good price." That the General, on account of the advanced season and the difficulty of procuring cannon, would order out no more armed vessels. The intention in fitting out these vessels

is not to attack the armed but to take unarmed vessels. He wished Captain Coit success.

SUCCESS OF THE PRIVATEERS.

Capain Coit did have a success. That day he, after a cruise of thirty-six hours, brought into Plymouth the schooner "Industry" and the sloop "Polly," both from Nova Scotia bound for Boston with cattle and provisions for the garrison. [*Am. Ar.*, 4, III, 1328.]

Watson, the Agent at Plymouth, pastured the cattle there and sent the prisoners to Washington at Cambridge. On November 10th Moylan notified the General Court of Massachusetts of the capture, sending, by "command of Washington, the papers in the case" and also Jabez Hatch "who appears to be a noted Tory and is owner of one of these vessels," whom Moylan requested the Council to do with as seemed proper. [*Ibid.*]

On November 8th Moylan wrote Watson that Washington desired him to "sell the articles found on the two prizes." "We shall soon hear of Captain Manly's being successful and that Captain Coit is again at sea, to pursue his good fortune. The men and ammunition for the 'Washington' will set out to-day. I recommend all possible dispatch to Captain Martindale."

The same day he wrote John Brown at Providence, R. I., that the General had ordered Colonel Gridley to "procure the cannon necessary for the use of the camp."

Moylan also, on the same day, wrote Captain E. Bowen, Jr., "time is very short for expecting more prizes, the season being so far advanced. This is one reason his Excellency's determination not to fit out more cruisers for the present."

CAPTURES WITHOUT AUTHORITY.

On November 4, 1775, a sloop, the "North Briton," was captured by "two resolute people in a small boat at one of the islands called Misery."

On November 8th, off Beverly, a schooner laden with supplies was captured by "fifteen men."

The Commander refused to show the ship's papers to Bartlett, the Prize Agent, who wrote to Washington for directions, "for if I have no power to make such demand I make myself ridiculous in the eyes of the world." On November 11th Moylan wrote that Washington's advice was to "have nothing to do with such vessels

by any authority under him. Don't trouble yourself or the General with a litigious dispute. In short, get rid of the trouble in the best way you can and let us hear nothing further thereon."

The captures, it is to be noted, were made by individuals not having authority to make captures. Yet on 15th Moylan wrote Bartlett that as the goods on the schooner must be sold at vendue, he requested that all the claret be purchased for him. "As it is a liquor not much used in this country, it will probably sell cheap. Should you have occasion for part of it yourself, you will, by all means, keep whatever you may want." [*Mag. Am. His.*, May, 1890.]

On November 9th Moylan wrote Captain Jonathan Glover at Marblehead that the General directed that the persons belonging to the two schooners sent into Marblehead be discharged, but that bondsmen be had that they will not leave the district nor give information concerning the destination of Captains Broughton and Selman; they were to be well looked after. The wood on the sloop brought in by Manly was to be sold and the vessel laid up until it was determined whether she was a prize or only a recaptured vessel.

The next day, 10th, Moylan wrote Wentworth, Chairman of the Committee at Newburyport, that the Penobscot Indians needed powder; that "if not supplied by us with some, they will make application to the enemy, who, no doubt, would gladly embrace such an opportunity of making them friends." Washington directed that two barrels be given them out of the stock of the Committee, which "he would replace if it is not done by the legislature."

On November 16th Moylan wrote Watson at Plymouth that Washington ordered that those captured by Captain Coit be given their bedding and wearing apparel, but he was at a loss to know whether it is customary to return the money found on prisoners; these people do not merit any indulgence. "His Excellency would rather err on the side of mercy than that of a strict justice. Let me know your opinion in this matter."

Watson, on November 23d, replied advising that the matter be referred to the Committee of Safety.

On October 18, 1775, Falmouth was destroyed by the British; they burned five hundred houses, fourteen vessels, and all without loss to themselves. "A full demonstration that there is not the least remains of virtue, wisdom or humanity in the British Court."

Measures were taken after this devastation to defend the town against further attacks. On November 24th Moylan wrote Samuel Freeman of Falmouth that Washington approved of what had been done in defence of the port, adding: "It is incumbent on the people of the country to exert themselves for their and the publick defence. The Congress are so much of that opinion that they have recommended it to each of the Colonies to provide for their particular internal safety." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, III, 1666.]

POPISH BIGOTRY.

While Moylan, a Catholic, was so active, Jacob Bayley was writing from Newbury to Colonel Little relative to Canadian affairs, saying: "Our people, doubtless, are amongst them which will wear out their Popish bigotry; until that is done no great trust to the French." [*Ibid*, 1664.]

Instead of wearing out the "bigotry" of the Canadians, that kind of language, and conduct to accord with it, wore out the friendship and aid of the Canadians.

General Howe at same time wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth: "This army, though complete in the Spring, must have six or seven thousand recruits and chiefly of the worst kind if chiefly composed of Irish Roman Catholics, certain to desert if put to hard work, and, from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, III, 1673.]

It was not very long before General Howe himself, when in Philadelphia, undertook to form a regiment of such Irish Roman Catholics as could be recruited or induced to desert from Washington's Army at Valley Forge. He had confidence enough in such as he could get to avail himself of their services.

Captain Adams had taken a vessel with a cargo of potatoes and turnips, which seems not to have been regarded as a valuable prize, in contrast with one taken by Captain Manly. Moylan, writing from Washington's camp on December 1, 1775, to Colonel Joshua Wentworth, at Portsmouth, saying:

"We are all flushed with the agreeable account of Captain Manly's having taken a prize of the utmost consequence, which made us look over the potatoes and turnips of Captain Adams, but, now being a little cool, I assure you I do not think Adams' *bon fortune* so despicable. Though of little value to us, it is depriving

the enemy of what to them would be of consequence. As to the prisoners, I wish you had kept or discharged them. . . . You will please dispose of the cargo by the "Rainbow" and lay up the schooner until further orders. Though, if a reasonable price can be got for her, you may dispose of her. I hope Adams will soon take such a prize as Manly has. I really believe the cargo could not cut short of £10,000 sterling. To us it is invaluable."

On December 1st Moylan wrote Wm. Watson, Plymouth:

"Capt. Coit's Lieutenant has been here and gives an account of his schooner being so old and crazy as to be unfit for the service he is employed in. If there was a possibility of fitting a better vessel out in six or eight days and removing the guns from on board the schooner, His Excellency, would be glad it could be done, as there are store ships and transports expected all this month."

Relative to Captain Martindale's finding it impossible to get men, Moylan declared "that the deficiency of public spirit in this country is much more than I could possibly have an idea of. Manly's crew will make their fortune by his activity—a quality Martindale is deficient in—get out his brigantine let the expense be what it will." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, IV, 153.]

On December 2d Moylan wrote Bartlett and Glover, Agents of the brigantine "Nancy" at Beverly or Gloucester, that as it was "under consideration of Congress, the mode of disposing of such vessels and crews as are taken supplying the enemy it is his Excellency's pleasure that Captain Hunter and his crew return to you, that their private adventure be given them with liberty to dispose thereof as they think proper, that they be treated with all humanity, due to fellow-citizens in distress."

On December 4th Moylan sent the Massachusetts Council the names of the prisoners taken on the sloop "Polly" and the sloop "Success" and also five sailors of the "Canceaux" man-of-war. One was named Pat Burns.

On December 4th Moylan, by Washington's "command," notified Bartlett that concerning the capture of the sloop "Concord" from Glasgow with goods for Boston that though the enemy were daily seizing our vessels and that reprisals ought to be made, he did not think he had authority to declare lawful captures could be made of vessels transporting goods from English or British owners for their agents here, and had referred the matter to Congress.

"OLD PUT."

When Manly's captured stores were taken to Washington's camp at Cambridge the scene is thus described by Moylan in letter of December 5th to Colonel Reed:

"I would have given a good deal that you was here last Saturday when the stores arrived at camp. Such universal joy ran through the whole as if each grasped victory in his hand, to crown the glorious scene there intervened one truly ludicrous, which was old Put mounted on a large mortar which was fixed in its bed for the occasion, with a bottle of rum in his hand, standing parson to christen, while godfather Mifflin gave it the name of Congress. The huzzas on the occasion I dare say were heard through all the territories of our most gracious sovereign in this Province.

"The time of the Connecticut troops' enlistment being expired, the scoundrels are deserting the lines before we are prepared for such a defection." [*Reed's Life,* I, 134.]

General Howe, in reporting to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 3d, the capture of the "Nancy," stated she had "4000 stand of arms complete, 100,000 flints, a 13-inch mortar with other stores in proportion." "The capture" is rather unfortunate to us. "The Rebels" are now furnished with all the requisite for setting the town on fire.

These supplies were those taken on the "Nancy" captured by Manly. This capture was to Washington "an instance of divine favour—for nothing surely ever came more *apropos.*" Though Manly "unluckily missed the greatest prize in the world—their whole ordnance—the ship containing it being just ahead—but he could not have got both." [Reed's *Life,* I, 132.]

The "Nancy" sailed under convoy of the "Phœnix," man-of-war, and on November 27, 1775, General Howe wrote Earl of Dartmouth that she was "the only ordnance store ship missing. . . . The Rebel's cruisers are watchful and have already been too successful, and will probably do much more mischief unless the King's ship can contrive to cut them off." [*Am. Ar.,* 4, III, 1679.]

Next day, 5th, he informed the Committee of Safety of Salem that the brig "Kingston Packet" had been taken at Barington, Nova Scotia, on suspicion of being engaged in business contrary to the Association of the United Colonies. Washington directed the Committee to determine the case.

Again, on December 5, 1775, he notified Captain Peleg Wadsworth that Washington desired he would examine the harbour of Cape Cod and see what fortifications may be necessary for its defence and to report thereof.

On 6th to Salem Committee that Washington would contribute to the safety of the town when he can do it, consistent with that attention he must pay to the defence of the whole.

Same day to Bartlett sending $2000 for military stores.

On 8th to the Salem Committee delivering up the cargo of a vessel.

Same day to Glover at Marblehead, that the affair of the "Kingston Packet" be managed "so that Headquarters may hear no more of it."

December 9th—To Massachusetts Council sending four pilots taken by Captain Coit on board vessels taking supplies to the enemy in Boston.

TWO GENTLEMEN FROM ANTIGUA.

On December 10th Moylan wrote Bartlett regarding the Captain of a captured vessel, that it was "very unlucky the Captain threw his papers overboard—and if it were true that this was done after he was made a prize of, he deserves to be severely punished and in any other war he would suffer death for such an action, but we must show him and all such who fall into our hands that Americans are humane as well as brave. You will, therefore, treat the prisoners with all possible tenderness."

There were on board two gentlemen from Antigua—Mr. Burke and Mr. Gregory. Mr. Burke was "strongly recommended to our good friends in Boston, although not friendly to American liberty, he still has a character as a gentleman," and it was Washington's orders that he be treated as such.

Mr. Gregory was "going to serve on a man-of-war. Both were to be paroled. . . . There are limes, lemons and oranges on board, which being perishable you must sell immediately. The General will want some of each as well as the sweetmeats and pickles, as his lady will be here to-day or to-morrow. You will please pick up such things as you think will be acceptable to her He does not mean to receive anything without payment."

Washington ordered that prizes be not visited by people from the shore or from the armed schooners, "that embezzlement be particularly guarded against." [*Mag. Am. His.*, 1890, p. 414.]

The same day he wrote Bartlett by Captain Adams who was anxious to go on a cruise, "give him every assistance in your power—indulge him and let him proceed to sea."

December 13, 1775, Moylan wrote to Watson at Plymouth: "Captain Manly's good fortune seems to stick to him; he has taken three more valuable prizes. This shows what advantage these vessels would be, if the commanders were all as attentive to their duty and interest as Manly is. There runs a report that one of our little fleet is taken and carried into Boston. We shall be uneasy till we hear from Martindale, as he is the one suspected."

December 14th, wrote Colonel Wentworth at Portsmouth: "Captain Manly has been very successful, having taken three more prizes. I wish the commanders of the rest of our little fleet were as active; if they were, we could conquer our enemies without loss of blood."

THE NEW ARMY AND THE NEW FLAG.

On January 1, 1776. This day the newly recruited army—the really first Continental Army—was paraded by Washington and the new Union flag hoisted on Prospect Hill in compliment to the United Colonies. This Union flag was the thirteen stripes with the crosses of England and Scotland in the canton.

Though England's cross was displayed, the day really marks the separation of America from England in the mind of Washington, Moylan and many others. On that day the King's speech "full of rancour and resentment and declaring that vigorous measures would hereafter be pursued to crush the foul and unnatural rebellion and giving, as Washington declared, "the ultimation of British justice," was by General Gage sent out of Boston so as to be distributed among Washington's men. When the Union flag was displayed by Washington it was taken by the British "as a token of the deep impression the King's speech had made on us," wrote Washington, "and as a signal of submission." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, IV, 570.]

Instead of submission, "the Speech but strengthened the Independency thought which had been growing in many minds.

FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Colonel Moylan was eager for Independence six months before it was Resolved upon and the Declaration made. Writing to Colonel Reed from Cambridge we may be sure he expressed no

opinion on Independence adverse to those held by Washington. He said, January 2, 1776:

"The Congress is still sitting and I am glad of it. Will they now hesitate? Look at the King's speech. Will they not immediately send embassies to some foreign powers? Will they not declare what his Most Gracious Majesty insist on they have already done? Will they not strain every nerve to accomplish it? Are there remaining any hopes of a desirable alternative? They are men of sense and will act right.

"I should like vastly to go with full and ample powers from the United States of America to Spain, if my old friend Wall is still living, and he had influence, I am sure I could do service there. [*Reed's Life,* p. 139.]

Who was this "old friend Wall"?

"We really are tired of inaction. . . . Why are not vessels sent out this winter from those ports which will continue open by God Almighty's permission? Will not Congress follow the good example of the Almighty and open them all to the world? The King's speech is the key to open all ports.

"All the vessels are now in port—the officers and men quitted them! What a pity, as vessels are every day arriving—the chance of taking any is pretty well over, as a man-of-war is stationed so as to command the entrance of Beverly, Salem and Marblehead. We must have ships to cope with them. I shall try and get some of them to sea while the weather continues mild. Five hundred men of the Irish reinforcement arrived within these few days at Boston."

Again he returned to the subject of Independence when, on January 30, 1776, he wrote Colonel Reed:

"BOLDLY DECLARE INDEPENDENCE."

"Shall we never leave off debating and *boldly declare Independence.* That and that only will make us act with spirit and vigour. The bulk of the people will not be against it—but the few and timid always will,—but what can be expected of a contrary conduct? Can it be supposed possible that a reconciliation will take place after the loss of blood, cities and treasure already suffered, but the war must come to every man's home before he will think of his neighbour's losses." [*Life of Reed,* I, 160.]

Robert Morris, writing from the Falls of Schuylkill, July 20, 1776, to Colonel Reed, said: "Remember me to Colonel Moylan."

We have seen Moylan busy while away from the camp at Cambridge in fitting out vessels, and have noted his industry while at camp in assisting Washington in his correspondence. At times Washington was, as he wrote to his absent Secretary, Reed, January 23, 1776, "so much taken up at his desk that I am obliged to neglect many other essential parts of my duty," as "Mr. Moylan's time must now be solely employed in his department of Commissary." He had hinted to Moylan and to Mr. Harrison "that as they really had a great deal of trouble each of them should receive one-third of" Reed's "pay, reserving to yourself the other third, contrary to your desire."

On that date both Harrison and Moylan were not at camp; the former had written "to ascertain if his return cannot be dispensed with," and Moylan was away endeavoring to hasten the sailing of the fleet to attack British unarmed supply vessels. On 19th he reported to Washington who received it on 25th, "but his time was so employed in despatching expresses to sundry places" that he could not send reply until the next day, when Harrison wrote Moylan:

"His Excelency is much pleased that our Fleet is likely to get out again, & wishes your Return as soon as you have dispatched them. Herewith you will receive the Commission you wrote for; also a Copy of private Signals used by the King's ships in the American Service, which his Excellency desires you to furnish each of our Captains with & to return the Copy sent, when you come back.

"As to the Attempts on the Fowey, he thinks, that the situation of our Affairs at present will not justify it. But on your Arrival, will consider more of it, should there be the same Prospect of success that you apprehend there is now.

"The Report you have had is too true; but not so bad, we hope, as you have heard. However, it is certain that the great & gallant Montgomery, is no more. He, with his Aide-de-Camp, Captain McPherson and Captain Cheeseman of New York, fell the first fire; also Colonel Arnold is wounded in the Leg."

Moylan returned to camp on January 24, 1776, and "by command from his Excelency" he sent Major Hawley of Berkshire a

commission "for such person as he may think qualified to muster the regiment raising in Hampshire and Berkshire."

On 26th Moylan wrote the General Court of Massachusetts that Washington desired to know the mode of drawing the money the Province had offered to advance him for the use of the United Colonies.

CAPTURE OF THE "HOPE" FROM IRELAND.

In August, 1775, the ship "Hope" from Cork, Ireland, came up the Delaware River, with Major Christopher French of the 22d Regiment, British Army; Ensign John Rotton, 47th Regiment, and Terence McDermott [in *Washington's Papers* called Cadet William McDermott] and two privates. The "Hope" was seized by one of the Pennsylvania armed boats and the officers and men made prisoners. They had come "hither without any knowledge of hostilities." They were, on August 12th, brought before the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and after examination it was found they had come "hither with an intention of joining the Ministerial Army at Boston, under the command of General Gage, who is now acting in a hostile and cruel manner against his Majesty's American subjects." The Committee paroled the officers but held their goods, both subject to Washington's orders. [*Am. Ar.*, 4, III, 499.]

On August 25th Washington directed the prisoners be sent to Hartford, Connecticut. They were so sent. Washington directly, and also through his Secretary, Reed, had much correspondence with Major French concerning his application to be allowed to wear his sword, to be exchanged, or to be permitted to go to Ireland. Details of this can be had in the Connecticut Historical Society's *Collections,* Vol. I, and in the *Washington's Papers* in the Library of Congress. Our present concern in the case relates to the connection of Stephen Moylan therewith as Secretary to Washington.

MOYLAN "TUTORS" MAJOR FRENCH.

On February 10, 1776, Moylan, by direction of Washington, wrote Major French:

"SIR:—Your repeated letters to Gen. Gates desiring liberty to go to Ireland on your parole were laid before his Excellency. I have it in command from him to inform you that he does not think himself authorized to grant license to any one to depart this Continent—that power is lodged only in the hands of the Congress.

I am also commanded to tell you that the General is surprised a gentleman of Major French's good sense and knowledge should make such a request. Let him compare his situation with that of such gentlemen of ours who by the fortune of war have fallen into the hands of their enemy. What has been their treatment? Thrown into a loathsome prison and afterward sent in irons to England. I repeat—let the Major compare his treatment with theirs and then say whether he has cause to repine at his fate."

French replied that General Gates had written him that Washington was ever willing to grant indulgences to gentlemen officers, "but at present could not comply." He added: "Mr. Moylan was pleased to tutor me with a parallel upon the different treatment of prisoners which apears to me to have been lugged in (like the tailor in Lethe) by head and shoulders, as it was entirely foreign to the subject, since I did not complain of bad treatment. Why does Mr. Moylan, whom I don't know, write me upon a topic which I writ to General Gates about and why, at least, does he not assign a reason for General Gates not writing or signing the letter." [*Con. His. Soc. Col.*, I, 212.]

On November 15th Major French escaped, leaving behind him a journal.

APPOINTED SECRETARY AND AIDE TO WASHINGTON.

Though Moylan held the rank of Muster-Master he had been attending to the duties of that position and also frequently acting as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, he was not, officially, Secretary until March 5, 1776, and the next day he was named as an Aide. [Ford's *Washington*, XIV.] Colonel Knox "being desirous of it," Washington wrote Reed on March 7th.

An Aide ranked as Lieutenant-Colonel.

On March 7th Washington wrote Colonel Joseph Reed: "I have appointed Mr. Moylan and Mr. Palfrey my Aides-de-Camp so that I shall, if you come, have a good many writers about me."

Moylan was Secretary to Washington when, on St. Patrick's Day, 1776, the British evacuated Boston. As Secretary he received the appeal sent out of Boston to Washington on March 8th by four leading citizens, stating:

"As his Exc'y Gen. Howe is determined to leave the Town . . . a number of the respectable Inhabitants (being very anxious

for its preservation & Safety) have applied to Gen. Robertson," who . . . has communicated the same to Gen'l Howe who has assured him, "That he has no intention of destroying the town" "unless the Troops under his Command are molested during" "their Embarkation or at their Departure by the Armed Forces" "Without"——

If such an Opposition should take Place we have the greatest Reason to expect the Town will be exposed to entire Destruction; And . . . we beg we may have some Assurances that so dreadful a Calamity may not be brought on, by any Measures Without."

"This paper," wrote Washington to Reed, "seems so much under covert, unauthenticated and addressed to nobody, that I could take no notice of it; but shall go on with my preparations as intended." [*Sparks,* III, 311.]

Washington had made it known that he was determined to have possession of the City even if he had to burn it. Hence the alarm among its inhabitants and the consequent more hasty evacuation.

SCARCITY OF POWDER.

But for the scarcity of powder it is probable that Washington would have long before the evacuation have bombarded the City. On January 2, 1776, Moylan wrote Colonel Reed: "It will be possible to bombard Boston; give us powder and authority, for that you know we want as well as the other. Give us these and Boston can be set in flames." [*Reed's Life,* I, 137.]

This scarcity of powder existed all the time Washington was besieging Boston.

On August 4, 1775, Washington informed Congress he had not "more than nine rounds of powder a man" and that "our situation in the article of powder is much more alarming than I had any idea of." [*Am. Ar.,* 4, III, 28.]

The same day he wrote Governors Cooke and Trumbull: "Our necessities in the article of powder and lead are great—the case calls loudly for the most strenuous exertions of every friend of his country and does not admit of the least delay." He approved of an endeavor to capture powder at Bermuda where there was a considerable magazine. "No quantity however small is beneath our notice." [*Ibid,* 36-38.]

NOT THE LIKE OF IT IN HISTORY.

On January 4, 1776, he wrote Congress:

"It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours; to maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy, for six months together, without powder, and, at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But, if we succeed as well in the last, as we have, heretofore, in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, IV, 567.]

The same day he wrote his former Secretary, Joseph Reed, at Philadelphia:

"Search the volumes of history through, and I very much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; namely, to maintain a post, against the flower of the British troops, for six months together, without powder, and then to have one army disband and another to be raised, within the same distance of a reinforced enemy. . . . For more than two months I have scarcely emerged from one difficulty, before I have been plunged into another. How it will end, God, in His goodness will direct. I am thankful for his protection to this time."

POWDER! POWDER!

The *Journal of Elias Boudinot* relates:

"When our army lay before Boston in 1775 our powder was so nearly expended that General Washington told me that he had not more than eight rounds a man altho he had then near fourteen miles of line to guard and that he dare not fire an evening or morning gun. In this situation one of the Committee of Safety for Massachusetts, who was privy to the whole secret, deserted and went over to General Gage, and discovered our poverty to him. The fact was so incredible that General Gage treated it as a stratagem of war and the informant as a spy; or coming with the express purpose of deceiving him and drawing his army into a snare, by which means we were saved from having our quarters beaten up."

"If we had powder," wrote Moylan to Reed, on January 30, 1776, "I do believe Boston would fall into our hands."

"OLD PUT" AND POWDER.

On February 1, 1776, he wrote from Roxbury: "The bay is open, everything thaws except old Put. He is still as hard as ever,

crying out, 'Powder! Powder! Ye gods, give me powder.'" [*Potter's Mo.,* VI.]

As Putnam was born in 1718 he was nearly seventy years "old" but yet young in enthusiasm and zeal, as his cry for "Powder! Powder!" testifies.

Washington, on 31st March, 1776, wrote his brother, John Augustine: "I have been months together with (what will scarcely be believed) not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man; and have been obliged to submit to all the insults of the enemy's cannon for want of powder, keeping what little we had for pistol distance. We have maintained our ground against the enemy, under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army and recruited another within musket shot of two and twenty regiments, the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little, if any, superior to theirs; and, at last, have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this Continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense." [*Sparks,* III, 340.]

"I believe I may with great truth affirm that no man, perhaps, since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances than I have done." [*Ibid,* 343.]

Washington, in April, 1776, moved his army from Boston to New York to counteract the movements of the enemy designed to make the Hudson River the campaigning region, so as to cut the Colonies in two, as it were, by separating New England from the other Colonies.

General Charles Lee, second in command of the American army, then at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 10, 1776, wrote General Washington, then at New York: "I am well pleased with your officers in general and the men are good—some Irish rascals excepted." He closed by sending "My love to Moylan." [*Letters to W.,* I, 203.]

APPOINTED QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL.

Colonel Moylan was, at this time, Muster-Master General, an Aide to Washington and also his Secretary. On June 5th he was, by Congress, elected Quartermaster-General to succeed Colonel Thomas Mifflin.

Congress also *Resolved,* That Stephen Moylan, Esq., have the pay of eighty dollars a month and the rank of Colonel.

On June 10th Congress received "a letter from Stephen Moylan expressing his grateful thanks to Congress for appointing him to the office of Quartermaster-General."

Moylan was succeeded as Secretary to Washington on May 16th by Robert Hanson Harrison who had been also acting as Secretary from November, 1775.

Of Moylan and Harrison Washington wrote: "Mr. Harrison is the only gentleman of my family that can afford me the least assistance in writing. He and Mr. Moylan have hitherto afforded me their aid and they really had a great deal of trouble."

But once again Moylan acted as Secretary to Washington when, on June 13, 1777, Washington, at Morristown, New Jersey, wrote General Howe, the British General, commanding at New York, relative to the Exchange of General Charles Lee and the treatment of prisoners. It was sent by Washington to Congress on 14th. [*Ford,* V, 168.]

On the return of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as one of the Commissioners to Canada to secure the aid or neutrality of the Canadians he, at New York, on June 9, 1776, "Waited on General Washington; saw Generals Gates and Putnam and my old acquaintance and friend Mr. Moylan."

After arrival at Philadelphia to report to Congress he wrote, on June 14th, to General Gates to present his "respectful compliments to General Washington and remembrances to General Mifflin and my friend Moylan." [Rowland's *Carroll,* I, 176.]

On June 10, 1776, Congress resolved that the Quartermaster-General be directed to procure and forward such tents, clothing and untensils as are wanted for the army in Canada, subject to the directions of the Commander-in-Chief.

On June 17, 1776, Congress Resolved: That Mr. James Mease be directed to purchase and forward to the Quartermaster-General in New York as much cloth for tents as he can procure.

On June 24th, information having been given Congress that a quantity of tents which were sent from Philadelphia for the use of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay have been stopped at New York by order of the Quartermaster-General, it was Resolved that the President write to the General on this subject and desire him to order the said tents to be re-delivered and forwarded to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay immediately.

On June 29th Washington issued Order: "The General ex-

pects that all soldiers who are entrusted with the defence of army work will behave with great coolness and bravery and will be particularly careful not to throw away their fire."

Washington expecting a combined attack by General Howe with ten thousand men and Admiral Howe, his brother, with one hundred and fifty vessels, issued an Order stating:

"The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their homes and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will probably deliver them," etc.

BRITISH CAPTURE NEW YORK.

In June, 1776, Washington, to prevent the passage up the Hudson, in addition to guarding the Narrows, directed Colonel James Clinton, commanding Forts Constitution and Montgomery, to protect the fortifications in the Highlands. To Moylan was entrusted the work of sinking obstructions and erecting a *chevaux de frise* to still further debar the approach of the enemy. Affairs were in a critical position. The Americans were in a weak condition for lack of arms, while every man was needed to ward off the General and Lord Howe's impending blow—an attack on New York. But it is the movements of Moylan that concern our purposes.

On June 29th Henry B. Livingston wrote to Colonel James Clinton:

"The [British] Fleet is arrived at Sandy Hook about 46-sail, and I go to my station to-morrow morning; it is a very honorary one, and one that I am much pleased with as the Genl has granted me great power. Col'l. Moylan tells me that a Number of stores are ready to be sent to the Forts."

On July 4, 1776, Dr. James Clitherall of Charleston, S. C., records that on that day he called on General Washington who invited him to dine with him, "but being engaged with Colonel Moylan, Quartermaster-General of the American army, we could not accept of it." He dined with Washington the next day. The Doctor left Philadelphia on July 2d, "the glorious day that threw off the tyranny of George III," carrying letters of introduction to Washington, Mifflin, Putnam, Moylan, Reed and Dr. Morgan.

On July 16th Congress Resolved: That the Secret Committee be directed immediately to deliver to Mr. Mease to be sent forward to Colonel Moylan, Quartermaster-General, half a ton of saltpetre.

Colonel Moylan, at New York, July 28, 1776, wrote to Jeremiah Wadsworth, New Haven, Conn.: "Hoped to have heard the night before of success to the eastward; their folks are idle for want of vessels; asks him to send fifty barrels of pitch and of turpentine, also coal; the stoppage of the North River deprives them of plank and scantlin; asks him to send what he can pick up of these."

OBSTRUCTING THE HUDSON.

At this time Colonel Moylan was engaged in sinking a *chevaux de Frise* opposite West Point on the Hudson to debar the passage of the British up the river; he wrote to Committee of Safety at Philadelphia for one fitted to manage the erection of the work. The Committee replied that there had been "a proper Person spoke to to superintend the Water Chevaux de Frise at New York. It will be known to-day whether he will undertake it, if not, some other person will be immediately sent to you. In the mean Time you may provide the logs and engage the Workmen, as very few, perhaps not more than two or three, can possibly be spared from the Works here. In this Business House Carpenters who may be found among the Troops may be employ'd as well as Ship Carpenters." "Some suitable Person will be sent you to rig the Gallies and sink the Chevaux de Frise." [*Penna. Arch.*, 1st Series, 1776.]

Later the Committee wrote: "The bearer, Mr. Arthur Donaldson, is a person of Good character and has perfect skill & knowledge in constructing those kind of Machines."

SUPPLIES GATHERED BY MOYLAN.

In July, 1776, British vessels passed all the American batteries without injury up the Hudson. Washington believed this was intended "to cut off all intercourse between New York and Albany and to prevent supplies from coming or going, but he wrote Congress, "that the commissary has told me that he has forwarded supplies to Albany sufficient for 10 000 men for four months; that he has a sufficiency here (New York) for 20,000 men for three months and an abundant quantity secured in different parts of the Jerseys for the Flying Camp, besides about 4,000 barrels of flour in neighbouring parts of Connecticut. Upon this head there is but little

occasion for any apprehensions, at least for a considerable time." [*Sparks'*, III, 476.]

This shows the efficiency of Colonel Moylan in gathering and transporting supplies, though there came difficulties later.

On August 12, 1776, Washington sent Congress the "Return" of stores sent by Moylan to General Schuyler at Albany and a week later a report of the supplies sent General Gates. [*Am. Ar.*, Vol. I.]

On August 22, 1776, Colonel Clement Biddle from Perth Amboy to Colonel Moylan at New York: "I last evening removed about 60 bbls. corn from the wharf (which has layn there from the morning for Mr. Marsh) to the barrack as we had information of an attack on this place being intended but it proved false. I have several matters on which I must entreat your directions but the time is too full with expectations of great events to take off your attention at present. Last evening the Commissary informed me he had that day issued 5400 rations and 400 R's retained at this port of Perth Amboy but Col. Griffin tells me he cannot by the returns to him conceive there are 4000 men here; they are continually coming in, chiefly militia; the flying camp forms slowly owing to all the militia being ordered out, which occasions our having a disorderly tho a fine body of men."

Lord James Drummond, claiming authority to arrange terms of conciliation, endeavored to gain interviews with Washington who would in no manner recognize him. He was arrested and paroled—went to West Indies and returning sought Lord Howe's permission to land in New York. He, on August 19, 1776, wrote Washington in reply to his of 17th: "I had taken the precaution to prepare a letter to Colonel Moylan on that subject and which I read to Mr. Tilghman on his delivering me that of your Excellency, but which I forbore delivering as not thinking it sufficiently explicit."

He sent his letter to Moylan and desired an interview to "afford me an opportunity of exculpating myself or place me in the situation to suffer that treatment which follows an infraction of parole." [*Wash. MSS.*, VI, 179.]

On August 27, 1776, was fought the battle of Long Island so disastrous, especially to the Maryland Line, to Washington's army. This was followed by Harlem Heights, September 16; White Plains, October 28th; and the capture of Fort Washington by the British on November 16th, all more or less unfavorable to Washing-

ton and necessitating the memorable and marvelously strategic retreat through New Jersey.

On September 1, 1776, Colonel Richard Carey, Aide to Washington and by his order wrote General Heath notifying him that Washington had directed Colonel Moylan to furnish the horses wanted and that Moylan was to place an assistant Quartermaster at King's Bridge to supply such articles as are necessary.

On the 3d Colonel Moylan from New York wrote General Heath at King's Bridge that Washington had "ordered the tools and necessaries to some place of security from the enemy and as convenient as the situation will admit of, to Heath's encampment. Major Bacon was sent to consult and take Heath's orders.

The same day Moylan was notified by Secretary Harrison that the Committee at Albany had sent boards to Peekskill and that Washington desired Moylan to get them down to King's Bridge or some place near it and that he would exert himself to have "a pretty considerable quantity provided as many will in all probability be wanted to shelter the troops that may be stationed there and at the posts about it."

On the 6th Colonel Moylan wrote John Hancock, President of Congress, concerning a quantity of Russia duck, which was in the hands of "Thomas Greene, Esq., of Providence, which is ordered by the Secret Committee to lay till further orders from them. We are here in great want of tents. If you could procure an order from said committee to have the duck made up into tents and forwarded to me it would be of the greatest service to the army."

September 9, 1776, Washington's order to Moylan was "that you would without loss of time set about preparing a Sufficient Quantity of Boards, Scantlin and every Material necessary for the Building of Barracks at King's Bridge and the posts thereabouts. The North River, down which most of the Articles must come, is now entirely free from any Obstructions by the Enemy, but how long that may continue is uncertain. The Season advances fast, when it would be impossible for the Troops to lay in Camp, even if they were all supplied with Tents and had a sufficient stock of Blankets and other warm Cloathing; but you well know that in the Article of Tents, at least one-third part of the Army are unprovided, and those that we have are worn and bad; as to bedding and other Cloaths they are in a manner destitute. We have every reason to fear and suppose, that the great naval Force of the

Enemy will oblige us to quit this City whenever they please to make an attack upon it. We must then depend upon Barracks for Shelter, and for that reason you and your deputies to exert yourselves, in the most strenuous manner, in collecting such a stock of wood for the Buildings, and Brick or Stone and Lime for the Chimnies and ovens, as will enable you in a short time to provide comfortable coverings for the men, at the different posts."

CONGRESS INVESTIGATES CONDITION OF ARMY.

Congress, on September 21, 1776, appointed Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry and Francis Lewis a Committee to "inspect the state of the army at New York." They left Philadelphia the same day, arrived at Washington's camp on 24th and spent three days in the examination. They reported to Congress on October 2d that the number of men in the army was 25,375 of which 16,905 were fit for duty, 1543 on command and the residue sick or absent; that the militia on their march to the camp, but not included in the report "would amount to upwards of 11,000 men"; that the army was well supplied with provisions, except vegetables which were not then to be procured; there was a "want of salt"; the sick have been greatly neglected and numbers have "dyed for want of necessaries and attendance"; military stores are wanted; the military chest has been too frequently unsupplied with money, but at present the paymaster has a sum fully equal to the General's wishes; that cloathing and blankets are greatly wanted and a supply has been neglected as well from the want of a proper officer to superintend the business as from the scarcity of these articles; military discipline did not prevail.

MOYLAN REQUESTED TO RESIGN.

How and to what extent these delinquencies were chargeable to Colonel Moylan does not specifically appear, but it is evident from a letter of William Ellery, Delegate of Rhode Island, written September 27th to Governor Cooke of that Colony, that Colonel Moylan was held responsible for sufficient to warrant the Committee to ask him to resign. Ellery wrote:

"The Committee who were appointed to inspect the state of the army at Harlem have returned and represented things in a more favorable light than we had used to view them. Methods are taken that the army shall be better disciplined and provided in every respect than it hath been. Although we have some good officers

in some of the principal departments, yet in others there is great want of skill and abilities. The Quartermaster-General, Moylan, was persuaded by the Committee to resign, and Brigadier-General Mifflin was persuaded by the Committee to accept that office, with the rank and pay of Brigadier-General. This appointment will give great satisfaction to the army, for General Mifflin is not only well acquainted with the business of the office, but he hath spirit and activity to execute it in a proper manner." [*Journal of Congress*, V, p. 844; *R. I. in Rev.*, 89.]

MOYLAN'S EXPLANATION.

Colonel Moylan's letter to Congress gives an explicit relation of the conditions of the army at the time and of the difficulties he encountered. It was addressed to the President of Congress:

HARLEM HEIGHTS, 27th Septr 1776.

SIR:—

The Field Deputies from Congress Conferd with me this day on the business of the Quarter Master Generals department, they told me that they found a disatisfaction prevail in the Army, by its not being Supplied Sufficiently with the necessaries in that Department, That it was their wish, to reconcile a body of Men So very necessary for the defence, of the glorious Cause we are all engaged in, and proposed that General Mifflin Should resume that department as it appeared to them an effectual method, of giving Satisfaction to the Army, and bringing the department into more regularity, which I must own, there has of late been great need of, oweing to Causes, which I shall take the Liberty of pointing out to you, and through you Sir to Congress before I close this.

These Gentlemen urged the necessity of this plan, which they had adopted, So forceably, and at the same time, in So delicate a manner, that I did not hesitate, in telling them, that as a Servant to the publick, I would very willingly resign my office, as it appeared to them, to be for the publick good. I placed my houour in their hands and I shall be very much mistaken in them, if they do not treat it with tenderness. They were pleased to tell me, I might have the Command of a Battallion, which tho I hold to be a most honourable post, for the following reasons I have declined:

1st As the Quarter Master General is at the head of the Staff, I conceive that he takes rank of all Colonels in the Army, it being

generally the Custom in most Nations, to give the Rank of Colonel to the assistants QrMrGenl at the end of one or two Campaigns, I therefore think that it would be going back in the army, rather than advancing which is what I can not reconcile to my feelings, especially, as there is a precedent, which differs.

2dly Tho I have employed my Spare time, in Studying the art of War and for fifteen months past have seen a great deal of its practice, My vieus were turned to the Grand and extended parts thereof more than to the Minutio. I do not therefore think myself Capable of teaching a new Regiment the necessary duties. These Sir are the reasons by which I am actuated. At the Same time I can assure the Congress, that I am very willing to Sacrifice my Life, when Calld upon, in the glorious Cause which from the noblest principle, I have voluntarily engaged in. I shall settle my accts with the Commissioners as Soon as possible, and Serve a Volunteer in this Army, untill Congress is pleasd to point out Som other Line of Duty for me.

I will now Sir beg Leave to mention the principal Causes which have given rise to the disatisfaction in the Army with my Department. When I had the honour of being appointed to the office, the Navigation of the North and the East Rivers, were ours, every thing wanting was Conveyed to us by these Channels every thing went on Smooth, easy, Well. The few Waggons, and horses we had, tho allmost wore down in the Service, with a few more added by me, were Sufficient for all the exigencies of the Army, it was a long time after the arrival of the enemy before there was any just Cause for Complaint. A Large part of our Army was detached to Long Island, Waggons, Carts, and Horses were necessary to be sent over, many were sent thither. Perhaps there does not occur in History a Sadder retreat, so well Concerted. So well executed, than was made from that Island. But our Waggons, Carts, and Horses, Could not be brought on, the Navigation of both Rivers was stopped. Of course we were deprived of our usual Supply and then Complaints began, we wanted Waggons to do that duty, which boats were accustomed to do.

I used every endeavour in my power to remedy the evil, it was too Sudden, and not in the power of man to provide time enough for the emergency.

The Cooking utensils of Many Regiments Left on the Island, the fluctuating State of the Militia Coming in destitute of every

necessary, drained our stores, and it must take up time to get fresh supplies. To this I may add, demands upon the Quarter Master General, before unheard of, in any army, which not being Complied with, gave Cause of Complaint.

The removeing of the Stores from New York very Soon Commenced, all our own and all the Teams, that Could be pressed or hired, were employed in that important Service, the Commissary Generals, the Director General of the Hospital, the Commissary of Artillery, and what Stores remained in my department, must be sent off and that Suddenly, this Movement naturally alarmed the army in and about the City, they wanted teams to move their baggage, &c., and none Could be Spared. This Caused great Clamour and the QrMr General must be to blame, the Stores of the different departments were Crowded promiscuously on board of every vessel and boat we Could procure, no Store houses to put them in, provided. Of Course Confusion in the extreme, did ensue, I may be asked why Storehouses were not provided, the maneuvre was unexpected no time allowed to build and very few houses or barns in this part of the Island.

We were just emergeing from this Chaos when the field deputies arrived, but the Clamour of the Army had not time to Subside, the Loss of Baggage which were Loaded on Waggons, all falling into the enemys hands, irritated them, and I do suppose the representations of many, were strong against me, tho themselves were chiefly to blame for Leaving their Baggage in their great hurry. The Deputies from Congress were alarmed at the many Complaints and proposed, the remedy, which I chearfully acquiesd in, as it was their opinion, that it would be for the good of the Service. General Mifflins abilities were tried in this Department, they are great, and I Sincerely hope he will reconcile all matters, the provision I have made will assist him greatly. Timber, plank, boards, nails, brick and Lime are engaged in Sufficient quantitys to build Barracks for the Army, I have contracted for ten thousand Campkettles which are daily comeing in. Fifty Waggons with four horses to each, are now purchasing in Pensilvania, there are between this and Norwich Comeing to Camp fourteen thousand Canteens and a Large quantity of pails, with many other articles which would take up too much of your time to enumerate. I must beg pardon of you Sir and the Congress for taking up so much of it as I have done, but justice to my own Character, will I dare say, with Gentlemen of Your Liberal Minds plaid my excuse.

I will therefore add no more, than assureing you and them, that I am with the greatest respect

Sir Your Most Obliged
and very Humb. Sert.

STEPHEN MOYLAN.

[*Papers of the Continental Congress*, 78, Vol. XV, pp. 101-108.]

Elbridge Gerry wrote to General Gates on September 27, 1776: "We have obtained Colonel Moylan's resignation and General Mifflin comes again into the office of Quarter Master General."

Washington's General Orders of September 28th, issued at Harlem Heights, announced:

"Stephen Moylan, Esq., having resigned his office of Quartermaster General, Brigadier General Mifflin is appointed thereto till the pleasure of Congress is known."

In "the latter part of September," 1776, James Allen visited the American army at Fort Constitution or Fort Lee, lodged with Washington and "found there Reed, Tilghman, Grayson, Moylan, Cadwallader and others and was very happy with them." [*Pa. Mag.*, 1885, p. 192.]

Cæsar Rodney, writing to Thomas Rodney, Philadelphia, October 2, 1776, said:

". . . General Mifflin came to town the day before yesterday. He brought letters from General Washington informing Congress that Mr. Moylan, the Quartermaster General, had resigned his commission, as unable to conduct the business of so many troops. That in consequence thereof, the General had prevailed on General Mifflin to accept, confident that there was not another man in the army who could carry on the business upon the present large plan."

John Jay, writing from Fishkill, New York, to Edward Rutledge, October 11th, said: "Moylan acted wisely and honestly in resigning."

MOYLAN A VOLUNTEER.

Moylan "remained constantly with the army as a Volunteer," wrote Washington to Congress, January 22, 1777.

MIFFLIN SEEKS SUPPLIES.

General Mifflin, on September 28, 1776, applied to the New York Provincial Congress, through Captain Berry, for supplies of lumber, shingles, wagons, horses and men, it being of the utmost

importance to the preservation of the army and the general cause of America that these should be procured with the utmost expedition.

THE COMMITTEE ON ARMY.

Congress, on October 1st, reported that three hundred thousand dollars were necessary "to enable the new Quarter Master General to supply the various and necessary supplies."

That would suggest the main lack of Moylan—"dollars necessary to enable" him "to supply the supplies."

Washington, forced to abandon the defense of the Hudson and protect New York, retired to New Jersey and there began that wonderful strategic movement which marked him as a man of military abilities and reserved power for critical occasions. Backward and backward toward the Delaware until, in bleak and chilly December, he had been pushed across the river. Suddenly, on that drear and wintry Christmas night, he recrossed the Delaware with his little army and—Trenton was fought and won.

MOYLAN A VOLUNTEER AIDE.

As volunteer Aide to Washington, Moylan, from Morristown, on December 15, 1776, wrote to General Heath: "My business was to push Lee's and Gates' armies to join General Washington. What the General gave me in command was to proceed to General Lee and Push him forward. The day I came up with his army was unfortunately the day he was taken prisoner. I was to proceed with him to push Greaton's, Bond's, Porter's, Patterson's, Stark's, Poor's and Reed's. I will follow if I can find out their route."

Two days later General McDougal reported to Heath: "I found Colonel Moylan here [Morristown] in quest of the troops of General Gates in order to quicken their march to join General Washington."

Pressed by the British, Washington reached the Delaware and crossed to the Pennsylvania shore. All seemed lost. "I am at the end of my tether. In ten days this army will have vanished," he said. "The game is up," he wrote his brother on December 18th, and as late as the 23d repeated the same disheartening cry.

The British, too, were certain the end had come. "We have the old fox at last." Cornwallis had his baggage aboard ship at New York intending to return to England.

The "Rebellion" had been conquered. The freezing of the Delaware and the expiration of the enlistments of the greater part of Washington's army alone delayed the crushing of the "foul and unnatural" revolt. Washington told Robert Morris: "You might as well attempt to stop the winds from blowing or the sun in its diurnal as to stop the men from going when their time is up"—January 1st.

But Washington awaited not the freezing of the water nor the expiration of term of enlistment. Washington's army had been reduced to about 2400. He sent hastening messages to Philadelphia to push on the militia. Captain John Barry and Thomas Fitz-Simons, Colonel Moylan's brethren in Faith and his fellow-members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, organized companies and hastened to Washington's assistance.

But Washington, admirable in conception, in times of greatest danger, at this—the crisis—would seem to have had the guidance of that Divine Providence on Whom he constantly relied. He projected a forward movement—an attack upon the whole British line from above Trenton down to opposite Philadelphia. Colonel Joseph Reed was entrusted with operations to cross from Bristol, Pennsylvania. He went to Philadelphia on the evening of December 24th—Christmas Eve—to persuade General Putnam, who commanded at Philadelphia, to send a force across the Delaware to Cooper's Ferry. There he met Colonel Moylan who had been sent by Washington to hurry on supplies. Robert Morris, writing on December 23, 1776. to President Hancock of Congress, stated:

"I received last night a letter from General Washington, per Col. Moylan, requesting me to hurry Mr. Mease, to have soldiers' clothes made up with all possible diligence. He says muskets are not wanted there, but that comfortable clothing is exceedingly wanted. Colonel Moylan advises by all means to send up the stockings and great coats, now arrived, which I think I do." [*Bull. Pa. His. So.*, Vol. I, 1845-47, p. 58.]

"I am informed by Mr. Moylan that Col. Guyon (I think that is the name) was taken prisoner with General Lee."

The "Andrew Doria," Captain Joseph Robinson, had just arrived from St. Eustatia, capturing a British supply sloop and bringing her to Philadelphia. She had stockings, jackets, coats, blankets, linen, muskets, powder and lead. [*Ibid.*]

Six years after this time—in 1782—Reed, when President of

Pennsylvania, was charged by Dr. Benjamin Rush and General Cadwalader with, at this critical period in affairs, having contemplated going over to the British and with actually, at Burlington, having taken a protection from Colonel Donop the Hessian.

In his defense he thus relates his presence in Philadelphia on Christmas Eve:

"I lay down for a few hours and when morning came a number of gentlemen, among whom I particularly recollect Colonel Moylan, Mr. James Mease and Mr. R. Peters, came and anxiously enquired into our situation and prospects. They can tell whether despondency or animation, hope or apprehension, most prevailed, and whether the language I held was not the very reverse of despair; the former [Moylan] may remember, that when urged to stay and partake of a social entertainment provided for the day, I declared my resolution that no consideration should prevent my return to the army immediately; and that in a private conversation I pressed him to do the same, lest he should lose a glorious opportunity to serve his country and distinguish himself. I was not at liberty to be perfectly explicit, but the hint was sufficient to a brave officer." [*President Reed,* by Wm. B. Reed, 2d Ed., 1867, p. 106.]

This "brave officer"—Moylan—was one of Reed's life-long friends.

Bancroft's *History of the United States* in describing the severity of the weather this Christmas Day, states: "Moylan who set off on horseback to overtake Washington and share the honors of the day became persuaded that no attempt could be made in such a storm and stopped on the road for shelter." [IX, p. 229.]

Bancroft reiterated the charge against Colonel Joseph Reed whose grandson, William B. Reed, made vigorous defense, as his grandfather had done at the close of the Revolution. Several pamphlets were issued on the subject which excited great interest forty or more years ago. As an illustration that "Truth will prevail," it must be noted that it was not until 1876 when General Stryker, of New Jersey, whose Revolutionary historical narrations are of the highest import and value, settled the controversy by presenting evidence that it was Colonel Charles Read of the New Jersey Militia who had the interview with Donop, took "a protection" from him and abandoned the American cause.

Yet President Reed's enemies in his lifetime and Bancroft in our days recited, reiterated, argued and presented plausible proofs

of the despondency of Reed and of his intention to accept British allegiance, but that the victory at Trenton had caused him to change his mind. Yet it was all a case of mistaken identity.

It was just one hundred years after the alleged intended desertion that evidence was found vindicating Reed's memory even to the satisfaction of Bancroft, who, when presented with the proof, requested that he be allowed to be the first to make it public. General Stryker consented thereto.

Then came the Battle of Trenton when, in a terrific snowstorm and keen, cutting cold, Washington crossed the Delaware and, attacking by daylight in the morning the Hessians, achieved a victory which gave new hope, new life to the Patriots and changed the whole aspect of affairs, followed as it was by the victory at Princeton a week later.

The day after the Battle at Trenton—December 27th—Colonel Moylan, at Newtown, Pa., wrote Robert Morris, at Philadelphia, sending a Return of the Prisoners taken at Trenton. They were: 1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 3 Majors, 4 captains, 8 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 92 Sergeants, 9 drummers, 25 officers' servants, 740 rank and file. Total, 918. This said Moylan was "a rough but a just sketch as I can collect. I was unfortunately too late to share in the honours of the day, being catched in the storm and little imagining that any attempt would be made at such an inclement time. Our loss very inconsiderable. Six pieces of artillery, four standards, one thousand stand of arms were taken. If the whole plan could have been put into execution there is little doubt but the whole of the Hessians along the Delaware would have been done for.

The spirited conduct of the whole who went over did not exceed twenty-two hundred was great. You must remember what a morning yesterday was for men clad as ours are, to march nine miles to attack an enemy provided with every necessary and elated with a succession of advantages over our handful of men whom they were accustomed to see retreating before them. [*Am. Ar.*, Vol. III, 1446.]

THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

But if Moylan "was too late" for Trenton he was on time for Princeton. How he must have conducted himself in that brilliant manœuvre of Washington's is attested by his letter to Robert Morris.

AMERICA MUST BE FREE.

How jubilant! How our hearts beat joyously as we read:

HEADQUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN, 7th Jan'y, 1777.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you, my good friend, for your favor of the first. What a change in our affairs, since the date of that letter. Are you not all too happy? By Heavens, it was the best piece of generalship I ever heard or read of. An enemy, within musket-shot of us, determined and only waiting for daylight to make a vigorous attack. We stole a march, got to Princeton, defeated, and almost totally ruined three of the best Regiments in the British service; made all their schemes upon Philadelphia, for this season, abortive; put them in such a consternation, that if we only had five hundred fresh men, there is very little doubt but we should have destroyed all their stores and baggage, at Brunswick, of course oblige them to leave the Jerseys (this they must do), and probably have retaken poor Naso. What would our worthy General have given for 500 of the fellows who were eating beef and pudding at Philadelphia that day? But let us not repine—it was glorious. The consequences must be great. America will—by God—it must be free.

I never mentioned my desire to the General of engaging in the Cavalry. Your letter, I believe, gave him the first intimation. I put it into his hands to show your gift of divination. Pray how could you suppose, that our next blow must be at Princeton, but I recollect you did not then know we were attacked at Trenton. How your heart went pitipat, when that news reached you, and what an agreeable feeling you all must have had when you heard of their facing right about. But that feeling is very short of those which we all enjoyed when pursuing the flying enemy. It is unutterable—inexpressible. I know I never felt so much like one of Homer's Deities before. We trod on air—it was a glorious day. Pray send us back those runaways that left us these some days past. We are really weak—strengthen our hands, and we will not leave an enemy out of gunshot from their ships. I will not tire you farther than telling you what I have often done, that I am sincerely,

Sir, Yours,

To Robert Morris, Esq. STEPHEN MOYLAN.

[*Pennsylvania*, August 30, 1855; Reed's *Pres't Reed*, 2d Ed.]

"Naso" meant General Charles Lee. He had been captured by his own connivance it is now suspected, as later actions seem to prove.

Washington to Congress, 22d January, 1777:

"Colonel Baylor, Colonel Moylan (who, as a volunteer, has remained constantly with the army since his discontinuance in the Quartermaster's Department) and Colonel Sheldon, command the three new regiments of light dragoons." [*Sparks*, IV, 293.]

APPOINTED TO COMMAND CAVALRY REGIMENT.

As we see by Molan's letter, Washington had, prior to January 7, 1777, and probably in December, selected him to organize and command a regiment of cavalry. His commission, however, dated from January 8, 1777. On January 21st, Washington so informed the Congress, and Moylan was commissioned to recruit a Light Horse Regiment. He went to Philadelphia to seek recruits and select officers to do so in Maryland.

On 2d February, 1777, writing to Washington, then at Morristown, he said:

"The 2000 Dollars which I received your warrants for, is dispersed amongst the officers some of whom have got the horses for their Troops, and make further demands upon me; if you give me an order on the Committee of Congress for what I may have occasion, for the completeing the Regiment, it will save the trouble of warrants, & spare the military chest."

MONEY TO MOYLAN.

The Resolves of Congress relative to Moylan's Regiment may be summarized as follows:

On February 6, 1777, Washington, at Morristown, wrote to the Committee of Congress requesting money for the recruiting of Moylan's Regiment. A copy of this request in the handwriting of John Fitzgerald, Washington's Aide-de-Camp and a fellow-Catholic with Moylan, is among Washington's Papers in the Library of Congress.

February 26, 1777. Ordered $3000 to be paid "for the services of recruiting his Regiment."

On April 8, 1777, Congress ordered two warrants of $12,000 each to be issued in favor of Colonel Moylan. On May 16th an order for $10,000 more was ordered, and on May 30th $25,000 additional was ordered. He was directed to lay before the Board

of War an account of the expense of raising and equipping a troop of light horse.

Colonel Moylan wrote General Washington, at Morristown, from Philadelphia, 14th April, 1777:

"I had fixt on this day, for my setting out for Maryland, but the hostile appearances in this Bay are such, that I have given up the thought of going there, and have wrote to Major Washington to repair to Baltimore, and take the part of the Regiment raiseing under his command, I have recommended him to push them forward as soon as possible, which I dare say he will be as anxious in doing as I shall be. Considering the circumstances of not having a place to train either men or horses, during the bad weather, I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that the part of the Regiment here are pretty forward in their exercise. I have them out every day, and if the enemy will give us time to have them properly equipt, I flatter myself with the thought, that the Regiment will not disgrace our arms. Mr. Mease promised me the Regimentals of one of those that were taken, from the enemy. He now tells me, there have been so many applying that if I have not your sanction, he doubts much whether I shall be able to get it."

THE RED REGIMENTALS.

These "Regimentals that were taken from the enemy" caused consternation and alarm when worn by Moylan's troopers. So much so that General Washington was obliged to order the color to be changed, as he set forth very clearly in this letter:

"HEAD QUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN, 12 May, 1777.

"A party of your Regiment arrived here Yesterday with an escort of Money. Their appearance has convinced me fully of the danger which I always apprehended from the similarity of their Uniform to that of the British Horse, and the Officer who commands the party, tells me, that the people were exceedingly alarmed upon the Road, and had they been travelling thro a part of the country, where it might have been supposed the enemy's Horse would be foraging or scouting, they would in all probability have been fired upon. The inconvenience will increase when your Regiment joins the Army. Your patroles will be in constant danger from our own scouting Parties and when ever there is occasion to dispatch a party into the country, they will alarm the Inhabitants.

"I therefore desire that you will immediately fall upon means

for having the colour of the Coats changed, which may be done by dipping into that kind of dye that is most proper to put upon *Red.* I care not what it is, so that the present colour be changed."

In the campaign which followed, Moylan's Light Dragoons wore green coats trimmed with red, green cloaks with red capes, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches and leather caps trimmed with bear skin. [Mellick: *Story of a Farm,* p. 463.]

"DRAGOONS."

The title "Dragoons" which, now for the first time, we find applied to Colonel Moylan's Light Horse, and that, too, by General Washington, has been the subject of historical consideration as to its origin. Dr. H. C. Parry, U. S. A., in *The United Service* for August, 1881,. says, in speaking of the troopers in France during the time of Louis XIV. in 1685:

"We are justified in believing then the term Dragoon was derived from the cruelty and devastation caused by these troopers being compared to the pernicious qualities the dragon was supposed to possess and the evils he inflicted on mankind."

The Light Horse Regiments at this time were Sheldon's (recruited in Connecticut), Baylor's, Moylan's and one in Virginia. All were to join Washington's Army at Morristown for the campaign of 1777.

When the four were joined at Morristown a proposition to commission a General of Horse was considered by Congress.

On May 24, 1777, Washington wrote Moylan, then in Philadelphia, that if Congress left the appointment with him he would name [Thomas] Reed, who had lately been named as Brigadier-General by Congress. He requested Moylan to so inform Reed and to assure him of the pleasure he had had in learning of his appointment as Brigadier. [Ford, V, 389.]

But Reed appears to have been made Paymaster-General.

COURTS-MARTIAL.

On May 21, 1777, General Schuyler laid before Congress the proceedings of a Court-Martial, held at Philadelphia on Monday and Tuesday, May 19th and 20th, on the trial of John Brown, alias John Lee, signed by Stephen Moylan, President, wherein the Court determined: "That the prisoner is guilty of conducting five men to Brunswick; of holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, in offering himself as a pilot to General Howe, to conduct

the British army from Brunswick to Philadelphia; and also in promising to discover to the enemy to what place the continental stores, from Philadelphia, were removed; and the Court found the prisoner guilty of a breach of the nineteenth section and were of the opinion that he should suffer death; but, that from some circumstances which appeared on his trial, the Court think proper to recommend him to the General as an object of mercy.

"Ordered, that the said proceedings be referred to the Board of War; and that they enquire into the circumstances that induced the Court to recommend the criminal as an object of mercy and report to Congress."

In Congress, May 23, 1777, the Board of War brought in a report which read:

"That the Board have conversed with Colonel Moylan, the President of the Court-Martial held on John Brown, now under sentence of death as a Spy and Traitor and it appears from Colonel Moylan's Report, that previous to the sentence of the Court, after examination of witnesses, two of the members were sent to the criminal to endeavour to find out his accomplices. That he mentioned several persons in Northampton County, in Pennsylvania, who appeared to be his Relations and connexions and whose names were ordered to be given to General Schuyler: but as to his case no particular circumstances of mitigation appear except such as are founded in the ignorance of the culprit. The reason for a motion in the Court-Martial for a recommendation to mercy was founded only on the criminal's apparent ignorance and illiteracy."

MOVEMENTS OF THE ARMY.

At this time, May-June, 1777, Washington was at Middlebrook, New Jersey; General John Sullivan was at Rocky Hill and Moylan's Dragoons, recruited in Philadelphia and vicinity, covered the region round about Middlebrook,—at Woodbridge and Spanktown.

In the morning of June 14th the enemy, said to have been 2000, advanced to Van Ests Mill and skirmished with Colonel Daniel Morgan's riflemen on their way towards Princeton, seemingly moving again towards Philadelphia, though this was a feint as the British later sailed southward from New York to the Head of Elk, Maryland, and came northward.

Washington, on June 13th, sent Charles Thomson, Secretary

of Congress, the draft of a plan for the establishment of cavalry The next day he sent the Board of War "the establishment and pay of light dragoons."

General Reed wrote Washington from Philadelphia, 18 June, 1777, saying:

"Colonel Moylan writes that he thinks my knowledge of the country and of the people would be of use in the quarter where he is, and presses me to come up, which I shall do immediately." [*Cor. Rev.*, I. 389.]

Washington remained at Middlebrook until July 12th, when he established his headquarters at Pompton Plains, New Jersey, where Colonel Moylan wrote him as follows:

MOYLAN SEEKS PROTECTION FOR A QUAKER PHYSICIAN.

"Blands, 12th July, 1777.

"I lodge in the house of a man who I verily believe has as good a heart as any man can have, I have had many opportunitys of enquireing into his character. He lays out at least one hundred pounds sterling p. annum amongst the poor of his neighborhood; he is a Phisyscian who receives no fees, he is the friend of the distress'd—this gentleman is by proffession a Quaker of course a peaceable man, he has relieved many of our Soldiers in their need, he has entertained our officers who all have a good opinion of him, it is true he has entertained General Howe & his officers, and I believe from the same principle, he has suffered by both armys, but not by the gentlemen of either army, he knows how far your name will influence even the common soldier engaged in our cause, and wishes for a protection under your hand, I have promised him that I would apply for it, and did not doubt that if your Excy. saw no impropriety in it, you would give my friend Elias Bland a protection for himself, familly & effects as far as you with consistency could do it."

RATIONS FOR MOYLAN'S MEN.

The annexed requisitions for rations show the strength of the companies commanded by Captains Dorsey, Hopkins and Plunket of Moylan's Regiment.

Woodbridge [N. J.], 16th July, 1777. Capt. Thos. Dorsey's troop of Col. St. Moylan's Reg't drew 52 Rations for 1 Capt., 1 Lieut., 1 Cornet, 1 Quartermaster, 2 Sergeants, 1 Farrier, 2

Waggoners and 6 women, 30 Rank & file. Total 53 [Less] Retain 10 equals 43. Signed John Craig, L. [Light] Dragoons.

July 16, 1777. Capt. David Hopkins, troop drew 55 rations.

Capt. David Plunkett's Troop at Spanktown, July 16, 1777, drew 54 rations.

[Original of above requisitions were in lot 931 of "Letters and Documents relating to Colonial and Revolutionary times." Sold at Davis & Harvey's, April 3, 1906.]

MOYLAN REPORTS TO WASHINGTON.

Colonel Moylan reported to Washington, who was "near Smith's Cove, New York," from Elisthtown, 21st July, 1777, that he had received orders to march to New Windsor, taking my route by Clone, which I understand is near ten miles round, however I will obey it except I meet contrary orders, I should have been further on the march had not an unlucky thought taken hold, last night, of nineteen of Craig's Troop, who set off from hence towards Philadelphia at twelve o'clock. Colonel White and the Major with two troops brought them back, after a very severe chase of upwards of forty miles. I believe they have not been well used in regard to pay, which they give as the reason of their proceeding towards Philadelphia in order to get a settlement. I shall not however trust them on horseback again, and when an opportunity of a Court-Martial offers, they shall be brought to trial. The horses they rode, and the horses rode by their pursuers are so stiff that I cannot pretend to move them this day. I hope it will not be attended with any ill consequence as I am informed the enemy's fleet are falling down to the Hook.

These deserters were tried, found guilty, sentenced to death but pardoned.

He sent these reports to the General the next day from South Amboy, 23d July, 1777:

I came over this morning early, to this place to observe the motions of the fleet. They set sail about five o'clock in the morning and stood out to sea with the wind at N. N. West; they made so many tacks backwards & forwards that until noon I could not determine whether they realy meant to go out of the Hook or not; they hauled their wind, after they got out as if going to the Northwd. but that may be to weather the Cape. Eleven sail of ships came thro the narrow and went to sea with the fleet. As

soon as I get to my Qrs. shall send this to Col. Dayton to forward to your Excellency, I have been delayed upwards of two hours for a boat, which is at the other side.

The following day this report was sent from Amboy, 24 July:

The Letter from General Forman & the other from my correspondent are just come to hand, I send them to your Excellency, who can form a juster opinion of their contents than I can pretend to do, the Letter for General Forman was immediately forwarded to him.

At this time Moylan and Bland's commands were near Bound Brook, New Jersey. On July 25, 1777, Moylan wrote Bland:

"The inclosed letter came just now to hand. I suppose its contents are orders to march for Philadelphia. My route will be through Princeton, crossing the Delaware at Trenton; yours will, I suppose, be to Corryell's Ferry, which will be the shortest, if you move by Trenton. Let me know, and if I reach before you, the boats shall be in readiness to convey you across; if you get before me you will please do the same for me." [*Bland Papers,* I, 61.]

These reports, with others conformatory, led Washington to hasten forward to the southward all his forces. To Colonel Moylan was sent these orders:

ON TO PHILADELPHIA.

CAMP AT RAMAPOUGH, July 25, 1777.

The Enemy's fleet.....having left the Hook and gone to Sea, I am to request that you will immediately repair with your Regiment to the City of Philadelphia and put yourself under the direction of the commanding officer there. You will not lose a moments time, and will order your baggage to follow under a proper Guard.

In July, 1777, Washington, at Morristown, New Jersey, drafted a detailed route to be followed by the several divisions of the Continental Army on the march southward from Morristown to protect Philadelphia from attack of Howe. The copy in handwriting of Moylan is preserved in the *Washington Papers* in Library of Congress:

At this time Lieutenant-Colonel John Fitzgerald, a Catholic of Alexandria, Virginia, an Aide-de-Camp to Washington, sent by Washington's order, directions to Major-General John Sullivan (whose parents were Catholics and yet he declared the Catholic "a

cursed Religion") that the army would retrace its march to the Reading Road beyond the Trappe, a village twenty-five miles from Philadelphia and ordered him to move on a line between it and the Schuylkill where Generals Maxwell and Potter would join him and that he "notify Colonel Moylan to move in concert."

ORDERS TO MOYLAN.

On July 26th Washington was at Mr. Lott's at Ramapaugh, N. J., and in the handwriting of John Fitzgerald, sent Colonel Moylan this order:

Shou'd this Letter come to hand before you pass Trenton, it is His Excellency's Orders that you halt there, either until you receive further Instructions from him, or till you have authentic advice that the Enemy have come into the Delaware Bay, in which case you will govern yourself as before directed. If you have passed Trenton, your best mode will be to proceed to Bristol and there act as ordered at Trenton.

WASHINGTON'S MOVEMENTS.

Washington kept on southward with his army. On July 31st he was at Coryell's Ferry, near Trenton. On August 1st at Chester, Pa., where he received the news of the movement of the British fleet. He was in Philadelphia the next day where he remained directing affairs and consulting with Congress until the 5th. The next day he was at the Falls of Schuylkill where he remained until the 10th, moving to Neshaminy, Bucks County, where the army encamped until the 23d at [now] Hartville. When receiving information that the British fleet had arrived in the Chesapeake the army was started on the march southward to meet the enemy.

While at the Neshaminy camp Courts-Martial, held on August 7, 12, 16, of which Colonel Sheldon was President, tried Moylan's men and sent their verdict to Washington.

Washington on August 19, 1777, approved of the sentences in the case of Edward Wilcox, Q. M. to Capt. Dorsey's Troop charged with taking a horse belonging to Colonel Moylan's Regiment, and a trooper with his accoutrements, found guilty and sentenced to be led around the Regiment he belongs to on horseback with his face towards the tail and his coat turned wrongside outwards and that he be then discharged from the army.

Washington approved the sentence and ordered it to be put into execution immediately. [Saffel's *Records*, 331.]

TRIAL OF DESERTERS.

On the case of the deserters Washington in General Orders announced:

George Kilpatrick and Charles Martin, Sergeants; Lawrence Burne and Enoch Wells, Corporals; Daniel McCarty, Patrick Leland, Philip Franklin, Jacob Baker, Thomas Orles, Adam Rex, Frederick Gaines, Daniel Kainking, Christian Longspit, Henry Winer and Nicholas Walner, privates in Colonel Moylan's Regiment of Light Dragoons, charged with mutiny and desertion, and adjudged worthy of death—the Court esteeming the prisoners, except Sergeant Kilpatrick, objects of compassion, and as such, recommended them to the Commander-in-Chief, the General is pleased to grant them his pardon; and the like reasons which led the court to recommend to mercy, joined with others, induces the General to grant this pardon to Sergeant Kilpatrick also. At the same time the prisoners are to consider their crimes are of a very atrocious nature, and have by the Articles of War subjected themselves to the penalty of death. The remission of their punishment is a signal act of mercy in the Commander-in-Chief, and demands a very great and full return of fidelity, submission and obedience in any future military service which he shall assign them. The prisoners are to quit the Horse and enter into the foot-service, in the corps to which they shall be assigned.

Thomas Farshiers and George House, of Colonel Moylan's Regiment, tried by the same Court, being charged with mutiny and desertion, are found guilty, but some favourable circumstances appearing in their behalf, were sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes on their bare backs, and be dismissed from the horse-service; the Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence, but for reasons above referred to, and with the like expectations of amendment, remits the penalty of whipping. They will be disposed of in the foot-service.

Thomas Runnals, of Colonel Moylan's Regiment, tried by the same Court, being charged, is found guilty and sentenced to death; the Commander-in-Chief approves of the sentence but the execution of the prisoner is respited till further orders. [*Ibid,* 332.]

WASHINGTON'S ORDER TO MOYLAN.

On August 7, 1777, Washington, at Roxboro, now part of Philadelphia City, by Colonel Timothy Pickering, sent this order to Colonel Moylan:

"To-morrow morning you would post careful officers with proper commands of men, on all the roads leading from any part of the camp to Philadelphia in such manner as to intercept every soldier who shall attempt to straggle from the camp towards Philadelphia and all such stragglers are to be taken up, secured and brought on after the army. The whole army is to parade to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock and march as soon after as possible to a new encampment—about 9 miles back; but of this movement you will make no mention but to the officers whom you shall detach for the purpose aforesaid; not to them till you deliver their orders when you send them off. The whole body of horse is to bring up the rear of the army for the business of picking up all stragglers." [*Am. His. Rec.*, II. p. 133.]

Samuel Williamson, Chaplain of Moylan's Dragoons, in August, 1777, intending to go to Europe "to prosecute his studies," the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania on the 23d passed a recommendation of him "to the kindness and notice of all Civil and Military officers of States at peace with the country to which he may go." [*Col. Rec.*, XII.]

THE ARMY IN PHILADELPHIA.

On Sunday, August 24, 1777, Washington's army started at four o'clock in the morning from near Germantown and marched through Philadelphia, "going in and marching down Front Street to Chestnut and up Chestnut to the Common," now the site of the City Hall. It was on its way southward to meet Howe's forces coming northward from the eastern shore of Maryland. Washington's design in marching through Philadelphia was "to have some influence on the minds of the disaffected and those who are dupes to their artifices and opinions."

The cavalry (called the Horse) moved in two wings. Bland's and Baylor's Regiments on the right and Sheldon's and Moylan's on the left, 150 yards in the rear of General Maxwell's Brigade. Washington ordered "Not a woman belonging to the army is to be seen with the troops on their march through the City." [Saffel's *Records*, 336.]

Now-a-days it seems somewhat singular to note the many women attached to the British and American armies during the Revolution—many wives accompanying their soldier-husbands. The well-known instance of Moll Pitcher illustrates the frequency

with which women "belonged to the army," as Washington stated it.

The next day—25th—the army of ten thousand crossed the Schuylkill River at the Market Street Ferry and that evening encamped at Darby. The next day, Wilmington, Delaware, was reached. Here Washington, taking Moylan, Bland and Baylor's cavalry, reconnoitered the country and learned that the British had landed at Head of Elk River, Maryland, the day before. The first encounter between the opposing armies was on September 3d, when the British advanced against the American Light Horse Cavalry of Moylan and Sheldon but were obliged to retire.

Washington, on September 6, 1777, in a General Order, stated:

"From every information respecting the enemy's designs, and from their movements, it is manifest their aim is, if possible, to possess themselves of Philadelphia. This is their capital object. It is that they last year strove to effect, but were happily disappointed. They made a second attempt at the opening of this campaign, but after vast preparations and expense for the purpose, they abandoned their design and totally evacuated the Jerseys. They are now making their last effort. To come up the Delaware, it seems, was their first intention; but from the measures taken to annoy them in the river, they judged the enterprise that way too hazardous. At length they landed on the eastern shore of Maryland, some little way in the country, but the General thinks they will again be disappointed in their views. Should they push their designs on Philadelphia by this route, their all is at stake. They will put the contest on the event of a single battle. If they are overthrown they are utterly undone—the war is at an end.

"Now is the time for our most strenuous exertions. One bold strike will free the land from rapine, devastations and burnings; and female innocence from brutal lust and violence." [*Saffel*, 336.]

BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

On September 11, 1777, the Battle of Brandywine was fought and, by the Americans, lost. They were unable to make that "one bold strike" which Washington believed would have prevented the capture of Philadelphia and have freed "the land from rapine, devastations and burnings."

"The events of the day," declared Washington in a General Order issued at Germantown, on the 13th, "from some unfortunate

circumstances, were not so favorable as could be wished." Yet he had "full confidence that in another appeal to Heaven, with the blessing of Providence, which it becomes every officer and soldier to supplicate, we shall prove successful." So he ordered "thirty hogsheads of rum to be distributed" among the soldiers for their "gallant behaviour and bravery"—"one gill a day while it lasts."

"Though we gave the enemy the ground, the purchase has been at much blood—this being by far the greatest loss they ever met with since the commencement of the war," declared Washington to his soldiers in praising their "firmness and alacrity upon every occasion in the course of the battle." [*Ibid,* 341.]

The British at Brandywine were attacked by "the Light Troops" of General Maxwell's Division "who, after a severe conflict, retired."

The principal disaster of the day happened where General Sullivan commanded. Congress recalled him to answer a Court of Inquiry relative to his action at Staten Island. Washington protested against his recall at the juncture of affairs.

MOYLAN TO REMOVE MILITARY STORES.

The duty assigned Moylan's Dragoons after Brandywine are indicated by the orders of Washington issued the same day—September 13th—from Headquarters at the Falls of Schuylkill:

"The removal of our Military Stores from French Creek is an object of great importance. For the purpose, a number of Waggons must be collected as soon as possible; I therefore desire, that you will immediately detach Twenty Light Dragoons under an active Officer without a moments loss of time to assist Mr. Rittenhouse at French Creek, in procuring such a quantity as he may judge necessary, and to render such other services as he (the Officer) may think material. You will instruct the Officer to procure the Waggons in the least exceptionable manner. But they must be had without one instants delay. The Stores must be removed immediately or they may be destroyed."

French Creek is in Chester County. The stream rises in Union Township, Berks County, and enters the Schuylkill River at Phœnixville. The Board of War, from March 25 to April 16, 1777, sent military stores there, a report of which was sent Washington on April 29th. After the Battle of Brandywine and the

subsequent movements of both armies prior to the battle of Germantown these stores were in danger from the British.

From Germantown, 13th September, 1777, Moylan was ordered by Washington to "keep the main Body of the Horse at the Barracks upon Schuylkill; you will keep parties advanced towards the Enemy; move especially upon those Roads leading from Brandywine to the Sweed's Ford and the other Fords upon Schuylkill. Considering the distance that we now are from the Enemy, the security of the Army depends upon the Vigilance of your patrols. The reconnoitering Officers often take up a report of the situation of the Enemy from others and not from their own observations. Impress the Gentlemen before they go out, with the importance of the Business upon which they are sent, and let them know that if any accident should happen to the Army from false intelligence they will be answerable. Your own Judgment will point out any other directions necessary to be given upon the occasion."

PHILADELPHIA TAKEN.

The defeat at Brandywine made the entry to "the Rebel Capital" possible whenever General Howe chose to do so. He took possession on September 26, 1777, being received with great joy by the Tories who remained in the City after the Patriots, not in the army, had hastily removed from the City to the country northward and westward.

Though repulsed, Washington and his men were determined to continue active and unembarrassed. So to "share part in every hardship to which his army is exposed" he and his aides "divested themselves of all baggage save blankets."

On September 14th a movement on Swedes' Ford was ordered, in which Moylan's Light Dragoons took part.

At this time Washington's army was in a deplorable condition for want of shoes, stockings and other necessaries. He wrote Congress on September 23d urging prompt relief and saying, "at least one thousand men are barefooted" and had been marching over the hard roads in that condition.

Moylan's daughter, Mrs. Lansdale, of Baltimore, related that after the Battle of Brandywine Colonel Moylan wrote to Robert Morris urging shoes and blankets for his men. This letter, however, is not among Morris's Papers in the Library of Congress.

THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

Though arranging to give battle, Washington, on October 3d, sent, under flag of truce, to General Howe his dog which had wandered into Washington's camp. It wore a collar with Howe's name on. The next morning, October 4, 1777, Washington made an attack upon the British at Germantown. Though his men showed "spirit and bravery in driving the enemy from field to field, an unfortunate fog, joined with the smoke prevented the different brigades from seeing and supporting one another . . . and some other causes which as yet," Washington in General Order to his Army said, "cannot be accounted for, they finally retreated; they nevertheless see that the enemy is not proof against a vigorous attack and may be put to flight when boldly pushed. This they will remember and assure themselves that on the next occasion a proper exertion of the powers God has given them, and inspired by the cause of freedom in which they are engaged, they will be victorious."

They really had the British whipped but did not know it. Then two days later, Washington ordered: "Buckshot shall be put into all cartridges that shall be made hereafter."

The following day he announced that "the troops fled from victory," but "nevertheless he has the satisfaction that the enemy suffered very severely."

But the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga on the 7th compensated for the non-success at Germantown.

COURTS-MARTIAL.

On October 16, 1777, a Court-Martial of Horse Officers of which Colonel Moylan was President was held at his quarters for the trial of all prisoners of the Horse.

A week later—on October 24th—Colonel Moylan was himself on trial before a Court-Martial held at Upper Dublin, of which Colonel Bland was President. Moylan was charged with disobedience of orders of General Pulaski; with "a cowardly and ungentleman like action" in striking Mr. Fulinski, a gentleman and an officer in the Polish service, when disarmed and putting him under guard and giving irritating language to General Pulaski.

The Court "were of the opinion that Colonel Moylan was not guilty and therefore acquit of the charge against him." Washington approved on the verdict on the 31st. [Weedon's *Orderly Book.*]

The controversy, however, did not end with Colonel Moylan's acquittal. In December Lieutenant Fulinski [Zelinski] "unhorsed" Colonel Moylan. General Pulaski, on the 4th, reported the assault to Washington and sent the letter by the dragoon who had witnessed the affair. [Ms. Sabin, 2:22:98; D. & H.]

Captain Craig of Moylan's Regiment with his party of horse took several British Dragoons and several soldiers with their horses, arms and accoutrements. Washington, on November 9, 1777, issued order desiring "Captain Craig, Captain Lee and the other officers who have distinguished themselves to accept his cordial thanks for the enterprise, spirit and bravery they have exhibited in harrassing and making captives of the enemy." [Weedon, p. 123.]

The orders and reports given show, to some extent, the operations of Colonel Moylan's Continental Dragoons.

CLOTHING FOR MOYLAN'S MEN.

The value of Moylan's cavalry in this campaign is best proven by Washington's declaration to General Heath, made while at Valley Forge, that there had been "so many advantages from cavalry in the course of this campaign that I am determined to augment them as much as possible and against the next."

Desiring that Moylan's men might "take the field in a respectable manner," he sent "Captain Hopkins of Moylan's Light Dragoons to Boston to procure clothing and accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing campaign," and informed General Heath that "the Captain will send the articles he may get either made up or not as he finds most advantageous to the Regiment." [*Mass. His. Soc. Col.*, 5th Series, IV, p. 81.]

General Heath, at Boston, on April 7, 1778, issued Pay Warrant "for accoutrements for Colonel Moylan's Regiment of Light Dragoons, which General Heath, by the desire of General Washington, is to furnish." [*MS.*]

We cannot follow the movements of Washington's Army and the consequent manœuvres of Moylan's Dragoons, until they settled in camp at Valley Forge, where they suffered the distress that has become known to all.

DOES NOT AGREE WITH WASHINGTON.

While there proposals for "procuring horses and saddles" were referred to Colonel Moylan by Washington, to whom this reply was sent:

CAMP, 24th February, 1778.

Agreeable to your commands, I have with attention perused the proposals for procuring Horses and Sadles for the Cavalry—as you was pleased to desire that I would give you my sentiments thereon, I must beg leave to tell you that I totally disaprove of the measure. It is arbitrary and cannot be attended with the success expected from it. The mode proposed for putting it in execution must counteract its intentions—for however facile it may appear in theory, for an officer to go into a district to find out the disaffected who have got horses, I believe when it is put in practice, it will be found impossible to keep his business a secret. His attempting to purchase their best horses and saddles at a reasonable price will give the alarm, every man will put his horse out of the way or perhaps move him off to the enemy so that when the time appointed for seizing them comes, few or none will be found, the ill consequences of a very arbitrary act will remain and no good effects accrue from it.

If notwithstanding you should think proper to put the plan in execution, I will order the officers of my Regiment upon that duty, tho I am very certain that they would much rather be ordered to charge a superior number of the enemy than go upon this disagreeable service. Indeed it is that sort of duty that in my opinion the Cavalry should be exempt from. They should conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, not exasperate them, as that corps is more immediately in their power than any other; they must be out in small parties, and depend upon them in a great measure for their security. It may be said that those persons from whom horses are intended to be taken are such, from whom no friendship may be expected, but I apprehend that there is a great difference between those Tories made so through fear, and those who are actuated by resentment, the former will not act against us, the latter will.

Why not, Sir, call upon each State for a quota of horses, as well as of men, and an officer or any other person appointed who is a proper judge, to receive the horses. A plan of Rendezvous should be appointed to which the Recruits of Men and Horses should repair with the riding masters of each Regiment, under the care of experienced officers, in order to exercise and form them for the field. When perfect, to be sent to their respective Regiments. This I think, Sir, would be the most effective and most eligible method of mounting the Cavalry.

MOYLAN COMMANDS ALL THE CAVALRY.

Up to this time there had been five regular cavalry commands —Baylor's, Bland's, Sheldon's, Pulaski's and Moylan's.

March 20, 1778, Washington, on the resignation of Count Pulaski, placed all the cavalry under command of Moylan, as appears by the following order:

As Count Pulaski has left the command of the Horse, never, I believe, to return to any general command in it again, I have to desire that you will repair to Trenton and take upon yourself the command of that Corps, till Congress shall determine further on this head.

You will use your utmost endeavours to have the Cavalry belonging to the four Regiments (now in New Jersey) put in the best order possible, that they may take the field with some degree of eclat. Not a moment's time should be lost in repairing the Saddles and the other accoutrements; and getting the Troopers' Arms completed and repaired. In a word, the Season calls for the utmost vigilance and without descending to the minutia, I shall in general require that you will use your utmost skill and industry to equip in the most economical manner your own Regiment, and cause the others to do the likes.

Inclosed are orders to the commanding Officers of these Regiments to obey you. You must immediately send a relief for the party near the Enemy's lines in Philadelphia County. It is to consist of Men of approved attachment commanded by active, vigilant Officers.

GENERAL PULASKI.

Pulaski "left the command of the Horse" to organize an independent corps, "The Pulaski Legion," in command of which he did good service until his death at the siege of Savannah where, on October 9, 1779, he received a wound from which he died two days later. On January 8, 1855, a monument was dedicated in that city to his memory. History relates that Pulaski was "a devout Roman Catholic," wrote William P. Bowen, Sr., in the Savannah *Morning News* on January 9, 1855.

Count Casimir Pulaski had been appointed Brigadier-General, September 5, 1777.

To Colonels Bland and Baylor the same day the General sent the order:

"Valley Forge, 20th March, 1778: As Count Pulaski will I believe quit the command of the cavalry and is now absent from that corps and at York, you are to receive your orders from Col. Moylan. I expect the officers of your Regiment will remain constantly with the men and use every possible means to train and discipline them."

On March 25, 1778, from Valley Forge, directing that the cavalry be quartered at Iveham [Evesham] and Springfield back of Mount Holly as "very commodious places," so as to get the horses in good condition for the opening of the campaign.

Moylan, it is probable, pastured the horses as Washington advised and thus could operate in that section of New Jersey as opportunity offered and occasion required.

Washington, April 3d, ordered Moylan to send a Corporal and six dragoons to escort our Commissioners to arrange an exchange of prisoners. They must be picked men and horses so as to make the best possible appearance and be very trusty and very intelligent —put the cavalry on the best footing you can.

He advised Moylan of a "certain Mr. Bankson, late of the Continental Marines," whom he suspected as a spy of the British, "though he offered himself as one to us"—"find out his true history"—any thing "that may throw light upon his designs." Manage the business with caution and address.

The Commissioners for the exchange of prisoners met at Germantown the next day—April 4th. The British Commissioners were Colonels Charles O'Hara, Humphrey Stephens and Captain Richard Fitzpatrick. The American Commissioners were Colonel Wm. Grayson, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert H. Harrison, Alexander Hamilton and Commissary Elias Boudinot. The Commissioners met at Newtown, Pa., on April 10th and 11th for conference.

WASHINGTON'S ORDERS.

Washington's orders to Moylan were as follows:

On April 9th. Brigadier-General Count Pulaski is hereby authorized to draught from each Regiment of Horse, two privates of his own choice, with their horses, arms and accoutrements, and one sergeant belonging to Sheldon's Regiment.

VEXATION OF WASHINGTON.

On the 14th Washington wrote the "Commanding Officer" of Sheldon's Regiment expressing his "astonishment and vexation at

the low condition of your Horse, which had been permitted to retire to the best quarters offered for the purpose of recruiting them—yet the officers by galloping about the country and by neglect of the horses had reduced them to a worse condition than those which had been kept on duty the whole winter. How you can reconcile this conduct to your feelings as an officer and answer it to your country I know not." [*Ford,* V, 315.]

NEGLIGENT OFFICERS.

On April 11, 1778, from Valley Forge, Washington wrote to Moylan:

Your return of the Cavalry is realy vexatious, but what can be expected when the Officers prefer their own ease and emolument to the good of their Country or to the care and attention which they are in duty bound to pay to the particular Corps they command. In every Service but ours, the Winter is spent in endeavouring to make preparations for the ensuing Campaign.

I desire you will make strict inquiry into the conduct of every Officer present and find out whether those absent have gone upon furlough regularly obtained. And if it appears that they have been negligent in point of duty or are absent without leave, arrest and have them brought to trial; for I am determined to make examples of those to whom this shameful neglect of the Cavalry has been owing. If there has been any deficiency on the part of the Commissary of Forage, let the commanding Officer of Sheldon's make it appear in his own justification.

ARMS AND HORSES.

On April 29th, Washington to Moylan:

I am as much at a loss as you can possibly be how to procure Arms for the Cavalry, there are 107 Carbines in Camp but no Swords or Pistols of any consequence. General Knox informs me that the 1100 Carbines which came into the Eastward and were said to be fit for Horsemen were only a lighter kind of musket. I believe Colonels Baylor and Bland have procured Swords from Hunter's Manufactory in Virginia, but I do not think it will be possible to get a sufficient number of Pistols, except they are imported on purpose. I long ago urged to Congress the necessity of importing a large quantity of Horse Accoutrements from France, but whether the order was ever given or whether they have miscarried in the passage, I do not know.

To this Moylan replied:

MOYLAN'S MOVE ON BORDENTOWN.

TRENTON, 5th May, 1778.

I am exceedingly sorry to find there is so bad a prospect of arming the Cavalry, if the 107 carbines which are in Camp were ordered to this post they would be of some service. I have wrote some time past, to Major Washington, requesting him to procure swords from Hunter's Manufactory, which I hope he will be able to effect.

I have seen but five horses of those purchased by this State. They were sent to Major Clough who rejected them as unfit for the service, I am told there are some tolerable good ones, delivered to the Regiments at Chatham, Brunswick, and Pennington; I propose visiting them this week, and expect from the late accounts I have from each, to make a more favorable report of them than my last, to your Excellency.

Major Clough went yesterday, by my order, with a party of Horse to Bordentown in consequence of the inclosed Letter which I since find was dictated more by the fears of the writers than any real cause for being alarmed. It is true that five or six hundred of the enemy are on this side near Cooper's Ferry covering some woodcutters and hunting for Forage.

I expect the Major back to-morrow and propose ordering that Regiment to Princeton, as Forage is there collecting, and becoming exceeding scarce in this Quarter. Any Commands your Excellency may have for me after this week, you will please to have directed to that place.

MOYLAN REPORTS CAPTURES AND DISASTER.

Moylan to Washington from Trenton, 7th May, 1778:

Major Clough reported that the 63d & 55th Regiments [British] are stationed as guards to a fatigue party of 200 men who are employed cutting wood. The fatigue is daily relieved. Their lines are covered by three small redoubts without cannon. He reconnoitr'd their picket which was strongly posted, sent two of the Militia horse in sight of their lines, which as he expected brought out twelve of the enemies Light Horse, on whom he charged—two of them were wounded, and dismounted, and two others made prisoners not far from their picket, the four prisoners and three horses with their accoutrements are now here and the

Major wishes that the men (who behav'd with the greatest resolution) could soon receive the value of their priezs, as an encouragement to them at the opening of the campaign. The horses are fit for the Regt. and he thinks $100 each will be a moderate price for them. Col. Shreve is at Fostertown in the neighborhood of the enemy, but not strong enough to disturb them, General Dickinson tells me he can draw out four or five thousand men to coöperate in any plan which your Excellency may form. If we could make good a post at Billingsport, it would alarm the enemy exceedingly.

8th May, 1778.

It is nine at night, and am just returned, Sir, from Bordentown, which the enemy left about two hours ago. As near as I could judge there were about 1000 landed there, having previously burnt the Frigates and several ships which were up a creek near that town. I have since seen them rowing up the Pensilvania shore inside of Bules Island. There are three Gallies and thirty-six boats full of British Light Infantry. Mr. Borden's house and two small ones in the town were laid in ashes. It is probable they will come up here this night. General Dickinson has collected about 200 Militia and is in expectation of a larger number coming in to-morrow, he has all the assistance our horse can give him. If they land at this place I will order Bland's Regt. to join us in the morning, at which time I will send this to your Excellency, with any occurrencies that may happen this night.

The 9th. The enemy lay last night on the Pensilvania side about four miles from the Ferry, I am of opinion that they mean to collect the stock & Grain at that side, and not come any farther up the river.

This destructive force of the British was sent from Philadelphia under command of Major Maitland. Twenty or more armed vessels were burned, including Captain John Barry's frigate "The Effingham." Barry at the time was operating in the lower Delaware. He destroyed the forage from Mantua Creek to Port Penn and captured several supply vessels, for which he received the thanks of Washington to whom he forwarded supplies at Valley Forge. It was in retaliation for these acts of Barry that Maitland was sent to destroy the vessels of the Americans, which had been sent up the Delaware to White Hill near to Bordentown for security.

Washington replied on May 13th to Moylan's of the 5th:

If the Commissioners of the Navy could have been prevailed upon by me to have scutled and sunk the Frigates last fall, the Enemy would have had little inducement to have visited Bordentown. It would have taken so much labour and time to have raised them that a force might have been sent to interrupt them. Upon the first intimation of the design I detached General Maxwell with a strong party, but the mischief was done and the Enemy gone by the time he reached the Cross Roads. Present my thanks to Major Clough and his small party for their bravery. The price formerly paid the Captors of a Light Horse with his accoutrements was 100 Dollars; but as money has depreciated, the Rule has been in some instances deviated from. Colo. Morgan's Riflemen some time ago took two teams of very capital Horses going into Philadelphia, they were paid 170 Dollars pr. Horse and at that rate, I have estimated those taken by Major Clough. Inclosed you have a warrant for 510 Dollars payable to the Major which he will please to distribute to the party according to their rank.

I do not know whether the Carbines that are here are in proper order. I will have the matter inquired into, and if they are, inform you, that you may send over a Waggon and a small escort for them.

You mentioned in a letter of the 23d April that you understood some members of Congress were dissatisfied with the determination of Rank between Cols. Bland, Baylor, Sheldon and Yourself; if it is so, I have never heard any thing of it from any person but yourself.

Moylan was the Commander of the four Regiments of Horse. Ten days later he notified Washington that if called into action he would not serve as commander of a Regiment but rather as a Volunteer.

MOYLAN SENDS A SPY INTO PHILADELPHIA.

Moylan reported to Washington from Trenton, 13th May:

The late excursion of the enemy prevented my leaving this place, to visit the different Regiments, which I shall put in execution the latter end of this week.

I sent a woman into Philadelphia last Sunday who came out this day, she says that war was certainly declared against France, that General Clinton had taken the command on Monday, General Howe preparing to go home, but is to give a Grand *Fete Champetre*

before his departure, that there was great talk of the Troops embarking, the Transports were taking in wood and water, indeed their burning the shipping looks like a move, for if they could hold their present post the ships would consequently fall into their hands. She heard nothing of the Hessians having laid down their arms, which was strongly reported here.

I would not trouble your Excellency with a complaint against the commissary, if I knew who was at the head of that Department, to whom I might address myself, but the great neglect of providing anything (flour excepted) for Bland's and Baylor's Regiments call aloud for redress. They have lived upon salt fish and salt herrings these five weeks past, which is now expended, and nothing have they now but flour to live upon. The issuing commissary says it is the purchaser's fault, but who or where the purchaser is I cannot find out. Mr. Paxton says if he had money he could purchase sufficient. Between them the men are suffering. They have had no pay since October, which with the want of provisions has produced much discontent amongst them. How it is with the other two Regiments I cannot say, but hope they are better off as to provisions. Respecting pay I believe they are in the same situation, which I hope will not continue long, if it does I may dread the consequence, I beg, Sir, that the carbines and what other arms are at Camp for the Cavalry may be sent forward, they are exceedingly wanted.

I have seen General Dickinson who has had some conversation with Mr. Yard, who left Philadelphia yesterday. He confirms what I had from my informant except that there was no positive account of war having been declared but was to have been two days after the last packet left England.

A FORWARD MOVEMENT.

John Laurens, Aide to Washington, on May 17, 1778, wrote Moylan:

His Excellency desires that a select party of fifty dragoons, men that may be depended on, with able Horses, well accoutred and conducted by active partisan Officers, may be ordered to march forthwith to our old camp at Whitemarsh, where they will meet and join a detachment of Infantry, from the Commanding Officer of which they will receive their Orders.

Moylan to Washington:

TRENTON, 23d May, 1778.

I delivered to Major Clough the Warrant for 510 Dollars with your Excellency's thanks to him and his party for their bravery, agreeable to your orders and complied with the orders contained in Col. Lauren's Letter of the 17th as soon as it was possible after the receipt. It reached me at Brunswick the 19th in the afternoon, and as the first and third Regts. were most contiguous to the Delaware, I ordered the detachment from them. I mean to relieve them to-morrow by sending an equal number of the second and fourth, I must continue Major Clough there for some time longer not only because I have an high opinion of his conduct but also that he can be better spared than either of the other two field officers that are with the Brigade. I did expect we should have had more of them, join'd to their Regts. before this time. I have the pleasure to tell you, Sir, that the horses in general are in good order. There are some in each Regiment that never will be, and I am certain it would be saving a good deal of publick money to have them disposed of. The sooner it is done the better.

I have ordered the whole of the horses brought up by Mr. Grey to be delivered over to the third Regiment as they have many men dismounted, there are spare horses sufficient in the 4th to mount the men he brought with him.

My information respecting the Rank of the officers in the Cavalry was hinted to me by General Reed, and the reason for mentioning it was, that should an alteration be made therein to my prejudice, at a time when we may be call'd forth to action, tho I certainly should act as a volunteer, I would not as commanding officer of a Regiment.

Washington to Moylan, Valley Forge, 24th May, 1778:

The Commissary General of Forage has informed me that he can now accommodate the Cavalry in the Neighborhood of the Camp. I therefore desire that you will immediately come over with all the Horse of your own, Bland's and Baylor's Regiments that are in good order; Sheldon's is to remain at Chatham. Good Officers are to be left with the Horses out of condition, who ought rather to attend to getting them in order, than to training them. The weather is growing warm, and it is hardly possible to do both at a time. The three Regiments had better come on in three

divisions, at the interval of a day or two, they may then be cantoned with ease, and not be distressed for Forage by coming in in a crowd.

On 28th Washington to Moylan:

As every appearance now indicates a move of the Enemy thro Jersey, I would wish you to continue there until their intentions are more clearly and fully known. If you can subsist the men and Horses at and near Trenton, they will be more conveniently situated there than at any other place, to be ready to observe the Route of the Enemy, and therefore I would have you collect all that are fit for Service as near that place as possible.

General Greene informs me that he apprehends a number of Horses purchased by the agents in this State are unfit for the Dragoon Service, and he would therefore wish to have two or three Officers who are good judges of Horses go round and examine them, that those fit may be sent to the Regiment and the others put to the Draught. Be pleased therefore to send over such Officers and General Greene will direct them where to proceed. I would have you by all means sell those Horses that will never be fit for service again.

Washington's order to "sell all the horses unfit for service" was carried out by Moylan, who by Brigade order dated June 1st, advertised in the *New Jersey Gazette* of the 3d: "That the cast horses belonging to the first, third and fourth Regiments of Light Dragoons be collected at Trenton and sold by publick sale on Monday the 8th inst. at the Market Place."

Moylan to Washington from Trenton, 30th May, 1778:

I had just got as far as White Marsh in compliance with your Excellency's order of the 24th when I received your Letter of the 28th countermanding that order. I have in consequence halted the 3d & 4th Regiments, who were on their march to Camp. The first had proceeded so far, that I thought it best to know your further pleasure before I would give them the order to return. I must beg leave to mention that the arms of these three Regiments are at present in the hands of the detachment with Major Clough, so that it is of little consequence where they are stationed. I will however draw them to this quarter, and depend upon those arms being sent forward which Major Jameson assures me are finished in Virginia & Maryland.

The party under the command of Major Clough consists of

120 horse, if your Excellency thinks proper to keep so large a body upon that duty. I think it will be better to order what remains here fit for duty of the first & third Regts. to join it, and let what are with the Major of the 2d & 4th join their respective Regiments. It will be attended with salutary consequences to have the duty performed Regimentally, both the officers and the men will be better pleased. The former in commanding his own men, the latter in being commanded by their own officers. The Horses by being under the eye of their own officers will be better taken care of. If you approve of it, I will give the orders for putting it into execution.

To which Washington replied June 1st:

I am not a little surprised that the arms of Three Regiments should be reduced to 120. I would wish to have this matter inquired into, and that the Officers of the different Corps send in a return, accounting for so considerable a defection.

As it is probable the Enemy will penetrate the Jerseys I think you had better continue where you are, putting your Cavalry in the best condition for acting which your circumstances will admit of.

Moylan to Washington, Trenton, 2d June, 1778:

Lieutenant-Colonel White informed me that there was a large quantity of flour in a store at Brunswick designed for the prisoners, which lays exposed to the mercy of the enemy. The shalop which was employed to carry it to New York is also full, having been sent back with her cargo. The commanding officer declaring that no intercourse whatsoever will be admitted, until General Winds delivers up a deserter from one of the Jersey Battalions, who came out under the sanction of a flag.

On June 10th Washington ordered Moylan:

"You will immediately assemble all the Cavalry not on duty at some place the most convenient to Camp, where forage is to be had, there to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice."

On June 18th the British evacuated Philadelphia. Washington moved from Valley Forge to intercept them, which he did ten days later at Monmouth, New Jersey. Captain Heard, of Moylan's Regiment, stationed at Germantown, on June 18th captured a number of the enemy and reported to General Washington:

The in[closed] is a return of prisoner[s] taken by Capt. Heard [ ] as delivered them to the care of Lt. Dover belonging

Capt. McCanes detachment. I have not been able to collect any Matheriall intellegence from them. [*Washington MSS.*, Vol VI.]

Among the captured was "George Sprangle a noted Spie." This was George Spangler. He was executed on August 14th on the Commons, now the site of the City Hall, for "acting as spy and guide to the British army."

Moylan's reports to Washington, Trenton, 23d June, 1778:

General Reed was down with me in view of the enemy. He can therefore inform you of every thing material, I have ordered Colonel White with a Squadron of Horse into the rear of the enemy, whose van I believe to be at this time in Allentown. He will keep me constantly advised of what passes in the rear, and the remainder of the Horse will be engaged on their front & left flank. You may depend on having the earliest inteligence of their motions, that I can from my own observations & of the officers under me collect.

To General Lee, Moylan reported from on the Middletown road five miles from the courthouse:

The enemy turned off at Carnans fields to the Shrewsburg road. There is a place called the falls about 6 miles from Carnans, where there is another road to Middletown. Should they choose to go that route I believe they will halt at the falls, as it is advantageous ground. If they do you will hear soon from me.

To "Baron Steuben or any General officer in the American Service," Moylan reported from Toponamos Church, 27th June, 1778:

A rascal who was trumpet Major to the first Regimt. deserted to the enemy last evening which obliged me to move off my party from Longstreets on the hill from whence the Baron wrote yesterday. I left an officer and four of the best mounted, who were obligd to retire from a large party of the enemies light horse at day break this morng. I met them here, and they are of opinion that the enemy were then in motion, I have sent a party to the same place, and another to the Shrewsburg and Middletown roads from whom I expect to hear in an hour. I am just going upon the same rout, with horses almost wore down. I wish some of White's party were sent to me otherwise I shall not be able to do anything satisfactory. When I can be certain of this rout I will dispatch a horseman with the inteligence.

To Washington he reported from Longstreets, 27th June, 1778 [11 A.M.]:

Every thing looks in the same situation as yesterday; at Freehold, we took three prisoners whom I send to your Excellency, they say it is the opinion which prevails in their Camp, that they will march to-morrow morning for So. Amboy, I saw a man yesterday from Middletown point, who says there were no vessels of any consequence in the Bay, that there was no collection of boats at Princes Bay. I expect an officer in soon from the Shrewsburg road, allso the great Midleton, there is one road to the later place which passes near to the post I now write from.

To Washington from Scotch Meetinghouse, 27th June, 1778:

I am just come from Longstreet's hill. I sent an officer since sunset close in to the lines and from his report, with my own observation there was no appearance of a movement, I sent an officer on the Middleton & Shrewsburg roads, who makes the same report. I will be out before the sun, & if anything new you will hear from me.

At "½ past two, Sunday," Moylan reported:

At twelve o'clock the enemy were halted at Polhemos hill which is on what is calld the fifteen hundred acres. They are now again in motion & seem to bend their course towards Middletown, thoro bye woods which were not suspected to be passable, but there are so many intersections in the roads that it is impossible to judge whether they will go to Middletown or go on to the falls, I have them full in view, and must move as a party is endeavoring to surround me.

Within an hour the Battle of Monmouth was being fought and a victory won by Washington. The treachery of General Charles Lee came near making the day one of disaster for the Americans. He was Court-Martialed and suspended. It is now believed he was a traitor for having arranged the plan for the capture of Philadelphia while a prisoner in New York.

James McHenry, Secretary to Washington, wrote to his friend, George Lux of Baltimore, that after the Battle of Monmouth, "Colonel Moylan's dragoons are still hanging on the enemy and waiting to see them safely a-ship board." [*Mag. Am. History,* III, 357.]

Moylan to Washington, 29th June, 1778:

Within three miles of Middletown we attacked a party of the

enemy this morning and took one Captain, one Lieut. and one Ensign with two privates, prisoners, & killed a few more. The British Army is expected at that place this day or to-morrow; quarters are taken for Gen. Clinton at Midletown, and for Lord Cornwallis at the place where we made the attack, which I suppose will be the rear of their army. The baggage is still where it last night halted, badly guarded. I wish there was infantry in this Quarter, a great stroke might still be made upon it.

An hour later he again reported:

Captain Plunket will deliver to your Excellency the prisoners mentioned in the note I sent you about one hour ago, I since find that General Clinton's Qrs. are taken at the place where the prisoners were taken. I am informed that there were fifty horses taken in the engagement yesterday, I wish it may be true, as I could immediately bring as many men into the field with good fresh horses provided I can [get] the arms and accoutrements.

He reported on 2d July, 1778:

I have sent orders to the different parties that are now out to come in this evening; they ought to have at least a fortnight's rest before they begin to march and if your Excellency would approve of it I would recommend Shrewsburg and its environs for that purpose. It is inhabited by the disaffected who as I am informd have large quantities of grain and the pasture there is exceeding fine. The enemy are now four miles from Midletown, I expect they will be embarked to-morrow or next day; Morgan's & Gist's men with the parties of Horse, have saved a fine country from being pilaged.

Colonel Daniel Morgan writing to Washington, 2d July, 1778, from Middletown, N. J., said:

"I am and have been ever since I came out, at a great loss for light horse, having none with me. Gen. Scott sent me a Sergeant and six whose horses were tired and rather an incumbrance as they could scarcely raise a gallop. Major Jameson was here yesterday. I applied to him for a few; he sent Captain Harrison who staid with me about 2 hours, when Colonel Moylan sent for him and his party. Colonel Moylan certainly has reasons for so doing, but, Sir, you know the cavalry are the eyes of the infantry, and without any, my situation must not be very pleasing, being in full view of the enemy's whole army." [*Corres. Rev.*, II, p. 153.]

On July 5, 1778, Washington's order by Colonel Clement

Biddle from Camp at New Brunswick to Moylan at Bound Brook was: "If the cavalry should halt to refresh themselves I am of opinion they can be best furnished with hay and pasture on the plain below the Mountain from Middlebrook to the Scotch Plains and I now write to Mr. Furman to use his utmost endeavors to procure grain suitable for them. Some corn is already ordered from Trenton which Mr. Furnan shall detain for you. You will please to inform him the route you will take when you march or rather before that he may lodge the necessary forage at proper places."

On the 7th Washington ordered:

"That you collect the *whole of the cavalry* without delay, as well the unarmed as the armed, and after a little refreshment, and getting the horses shod, &c., proceed moderately towards the North River to join the Army.

Major John Jameson writing Colonel Bland from Bound Brook, New Jersey, July 9, 1778, after the Battle of Monmouth, said: "Our men are so naked that it is a shame to bring them into the field; pray send some officer with clothes for the poor fellows . . . Colonel Moylan has appointed a Brigade Major as commandant of the cavalry." [*Bland Papers,* I, 97.]

Washington, replying to a later letter of Bland's, said:

"The officers who had the care of procuring necessaries for Moylan and Sheldon's Regiments have long since completed the business and the men are well equipped." [*Ibid,* 98.]

On the 16th July Washington's order from Haverstraw was:

"That you proceed immediately with the horse under your command to Orange Town where you will find Capt. Hopkins who has instructions for the Cavalry."

MOYLAN AND MISS VAN HORN.

To this Moylan replied:

TAPAN, 23d July, 1778.

Your orders of the 16th reached me the 19th instant, and agreeable thereto I have marchd the three Regiments of horse to this place.

I have seen your Excellency's instructions to Captain Hopkins to which I will pay due attention. The English neighborhood, would be a good place for the Cavalry. If they are to stay any

time on this side the river, I shall expect further orders from your Excellency by the bearer.

P.S.—Am engag'd to Miss Vanhorn.

Moylan's postscript shows that, amidst war's alarms and desolation, Cupid's arrows struck two hearts with but a single thought. "Miss Vanhorn" was one of the five daughters of Philip Van Horne, a Colonial Colonel of New Jersey Militia.

Moylan, "the fascination of whose merry nature and fine appearance, the latter enhanced by his red waist coat, buckskin breeches, bright green coat and bear skin hat, were too great for the Middlebrook beauty to withstand." [Mellick's *Story of Old Farm,* p. 480.]

In consequence of the army wintering at Middlebrook the five daughters of the Colonel of the Colonial Militia found husbands. [*Mag. Am. His.,* 1890, 153.]

But Colonel Moylan had other engagements than that with Miss Van Horne of which he had informed General Washington who in his reply tendered no "congratulations." He was occupied with more important matters than those of his officers' matrimonial engagements.

He wrote Moylan from White Plains, 25th July, 1778:

I think the best position for the Cavalry to answer the purpose of foraging and covering the country will be about Hackensack New Bridge. You then have an opportunity of drawing supplies from the Country between the North River and Hackensack, and Hackensack and Pasaic as your station will be central. You will therefore be ready to move at a moment's warning.

To which Moylan made reply:

ORANGE TOWN, 26th July, 1778.

I propose to move what horse are fit for duty to the New bridge to-morrow agreeable to your orders and shall endeavor to fulfill the duty recommended therein.

Whenever your Excellency will order us over you will find the Cavalry ready to obey your commands.

On the 29th Moylan, from "Hackensac," wrote Washington that he had "come with the Cavalry to this neighborhood. On my arrival I reconoitred the country and found a great majority disaffected and taking every opportunity of supplying the enemy.

Yesterday I sent a party of 80 horse to Bergen with orders to drive up what cattle they could collect from that town, to the point, which they have effected by bringing with them near 300 head of horned cattle, 60 sheep, some horses, mares & colts. Many of the first are milch cows, and tho its certain that the milch & butter is for the chief part sent to New York from that Quarter, there appears a great degree of cruelty in taking from a number of famillys, perhaps their only support. I am teased by the women, and with difficulty can prevail on my feelings, to suspend my giving to them their cows, untill I have your Excellency's opinion and orders on the subject—this manavre has alarmd the City, Powles Hook & the encampment on Staten Island. The Fort was manned. So was the Redout at Powleshook, and the army at Staten Island turned out, to the amount, as near as could be judged by Major Clough (who commanded the party) of 3000, tho their encampment would promise 5000.

"I have just come in from Fort Lee. The heights from Harlem up to Kingsbridge are interspersd with Tents, the chief encampment on York Island seems to me to be at Fort Washington. Those immediately about the Fort are Hessians. There is a pretty large encampment on your side of Spiten Devil Creek—and a redout with a magazine in its center—one ship pretty near on a line with Col. Morris' horse, another with three small craft near the entrance of the above mentioned creek, are all the vessels in the North River that I could discover at 12 o'clock this day. A report prevails of a French & Spanish fleet being at the Hook. It is believed at Bergen, which your Excellency knows is but four miles from New York."

To which Washington replied from White Plains, 30th July:

I approve of the step you took to drive off the Stock from Bergen, but if it appears to you that the families will be distressed by keeping their milch cattle, you have liberty to restore them to such persons and in such numbers as you think proper.

I desire you will come over with all the Cavalry except about twenty-four, who are to act in concert with the detachment of foot. If that number appears too few, you may increase it to any as far as fifty. Colo. Simcoe told Capt. Sargent (who went down with a flag yesterday) that Admiral Byron was Arrived. Be pleased to endeavour to find out the truth of this.

MOYLAN THE RANKING COLONEL.

The annexed document shows that Colonel Moylan was the ranking officer of the Dragoons:

Thus the dispute as to relative rank was settled by the Field Officers as Washington suggested to Moylan, April 11, 1778.

An Extract from General Orders of August 7, 1778:

The Rank of the Field Officers of the four Regiments of light Dragoons having been settled by a Board of Genl. Officers at White March on the 24th of November last. The Officers are to Rank in the following Manner agreeable to the Report of the Board:

	Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors
1.	Moylan	White	Washington
2.	Baylor	Byrd	Jameson
3.	Bland	Temple	Clough
4.	Sheldon	Blackden	Talmage

The above is a true Copy of the genl. Orders of August 7, 1778.

S. Moylan, Col. C. L. D.

[*Letters of Washington,* 152, Vol. VI, p. 379.]

MARRIAGE OF MOYLAN.

The *Pennsylvania Post* of October 7, 1778, announced in letter from "Trenton, September 30th":

"On Saturday, the twelfth inst., was married at Phill's Hill by the Rev. Mr. Beach, Stephen Moylan, Esq., Col. Commandant of the American Light Dragoons, to Miss Mary Ricketts Van Horne, eldest daughter of Col. Van Horne; a lady possessed of every accomplishment to render the married state happy."

Colonel Van Horne lived at Phil's Hill on Middlebrook stream a mile west of Bound Brook. He had been Colonel of a New Jersey Militia Regiment under the English government. Washington regarded him as a suspicious character. On January 1, 1777, Washington wrote to Colonel Reed: "I wish you had brought Van Horne off with you, for from his noted character there is no dependence to be placed on his parole."

On January 19th he wrote: "Wouldn't it be best to order P. Van Horne to Brunswick? These people, in my opinion, can do less injury there than anywhere else."

Or was this another Van Horne?

Captain Graydon in his *Memoirs* relates that on his release from captivity in New York he stopped at Van Horne's who, notwithstanding Washington's desire to have him at Brunswick, "kept his post at Bound Brook where he alternately entertained the officers of both armies being visited by one and sometimes the other. His hospitality ought certainly to have been recompensed by an unlimited credit on the public stores. His house, used as a hotel, seemed constantly full. Notwithstanding the number of guests that were provided for, there appeared no deficiency in accommodation and we supped and lodged well."

Simcoe's Queen's Rangers in October, 1778, went to Bound Brook intending to capture Moylan at Van Horne's but he was not there. [*Journal*, p. 114.]

The children of Colonel Stephen Moylan were a still-born child, March, 1780, at Middletown, Connecticut; two daughters, Maria and Elizabeth Catharine and an infant interred in St. Mary's graveyard, Philadelphia, February 24, 1795.

Maria was baptized at St. Mary's, Philadelphia, March 5, 1786. Thomas FitzSimons and wife and John and Jasper Moylan and Isabella Masse [or Wasse] were sponsors. She married Samuel Fox. They had children, viz: Elizabeth Moylan Fox, b. 1806, died unmarried. Mary Moylan Fox, b. 1808; m., 1832, Henry D. Bird, of Virginia. Stephen Moylan Fox, b. 1810; m., 1838, Louisa Linton. Margaret Fox, b. 1812; m., 1839, Dr. Tarleton B. Amberson. Anna Fox, b. 1815, d. 1816. Philip Lansdale Fox, b. 1817; m., 1845, Elizabeth DePui. Violetta Lansdale Fox, b. 1819; m., 1842, David M. Courtney. Edward Fox, b. 1821, d. 1862; m., about 1844, Sophia (?).

Moylan's daughter Elizabeth Catharine was married on March 10, 1807, by Rt. Rev. William White, Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, to William Moylan Lansdale, her first cousin. His father, Major Thomas L. Lansdale, had married Cornelia Van Horne.

They had four children: Philip, Medical Director U. S. N. Maria married John W. Hornor; Cornelia, married Maskell Ewing, of Havre de Grace, Maryland. She died in Philadelphia January 31st, 1906, aged 86 years, leaving surviving her two sons and two daughters: J. Hunter Ewing, of the banking house of Townsend, Whelan & Co.; Maskell Ewing of the firm of Ewing & Longacre; Mrs. Louisa B. Gallatin of New York and Miss Cornelia L. Ewing of Philadelphia. Caroline married Edmund B. DuVal. All of these

left descendants, but none of General Moylan's children or later descendants professed his Faith. His daughter Elizabeth Catharine's four children had seventeen children.

On September 12, 1778, the marriage day of Colonel Moylan, General Washington was at White Plains, New York, where he had been encamped from July 24th.

Nothing appears on records at hand to show the newly married Colonel's military operations until Colonel Richard H. Meade, one of Washington's Aides, writing from Fredericksburg, N. J., on November 2, 1778, to Moylan, said:

The bearer, Mr. Simeon Newel, is the Gentleman who contracted with Capt. Hopkins to supply many different Articles for the use of your Regiment. He has found some difficulty in the settlement of his accounts, to remedy which he has laid the matter before His Excellency, by whom I am directed to request that you will take the necessary steps in order that the matter may be accomplished according to right. Mr. Newel seems to have taken every precaution, and to have complied with Capt. Hopkins's directions. It will be proper to call on the Capt. when it is hoped the matter will be settled without much difficulty.

"THE HAPPY EVENT."

General Stirling, October 8, 1778, from New Brunswick, to Colonel Moylan at Phill's Hill:

"I have just seen Col. Van Horn's letter of yesterday to General Maxwell enquiring the situation of the enemy in this State. They are at present stretched from the New Bridge above Hackensack across towards Fort Lee with two redoubts on the heights on this side the bridge; their strength is about 7000 of their best British troops; on the 5th they advanced to within about three miles of this place but in the evening retired to their present situation. I believe they have nearly completed their forage and will soon quit this State.

"I most sincerely congratulate you on the late happy event of your new connection with the most amiable of Ladies. I beg to present my sincere respects and best wishes for your mutual happiness and my best compliments to all the family."

Moylan's command was quartered at Lancaster, Pa., when Washington sent this order:

ORDERS TO MARCH TO CONNECTICUT.

You will forthwith proceed to Durham, between New Haven and Hartford in the State of Connecticut, with your Regiment of Cavalry, where you are to fix your quarters for the Winter.

In quartering the Regiment at Durham you will preserve as much compactness as the nature of the place will admit, that by having them all under your own Eye, you may be able to keep up good discipline, and prevent dissipation and irregularity.

It is not designed that the Regiment should do ordinary duty, or be called out upon every common occasion. But in case if invasion, or the advance of the Enemy, you are to obey the orders of General Putnam, and assist in giving them every opposition.

BRITISH ARMY REPORTS MADE KNOWN TO WASHINGTON.

It was, probably, while at Durham that the "circumstance" herewith related took place:

Jones' *History of New York during the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 210, relates "a circumstance told me by a gentleman who was a prisoner in Connecticut during the winter of 1779. Stephen Moylan Esq., who commanded a Regiment of horse in the rebel service and was quartered in the same town, in an evening's conversation told the gentleman that not a return of the number and state of the British army at New York had been made to General Clinton for the last two years, but that General Washington received a copy of it in twenty-four, or at most, in forty-eight hours after its delivery to the Commander-in-Chief."

At Durham Moylan's Dragoons were quartered all winter and the spring of 1779. General Washington, on June 28th, sent from New Windsor these instructions:

MOYLAN'S COMMAND INCREASED.

When you have crossed the North River with your Regiment you will proceed to the neighborhood of Bedford [N. Y.], where Col. Sheldon's Horse and a few light infantry are stationed, these you will take under your command. The purpose of this command are to protect the country and inhabitants, give confidence to the militia, and as far as it lies in your power, gain intelligence of the Enemy's force, movements and designs of which you will give me the most punctual information.

I leave it to your own Judgment, from an examination of the

country, and according to the circumstances, to take a position that will best answer these purposes, consistent with the security and accommodation of your Troops.

Col. Armand's Corps I propose ordering down, who will also be under your command.

The uniform worn in this campaign is described: Short green jackets, red waistcoats ["the green above the red"], buckskin breeches and leather caps trimmed with bear skin. [*Am. His. Reg.*, IV, 502.]

Washington, from New Windsor, New York, on July 10, 1779, notified General Heath, "the enemy in considerable force was moving by land towards Horse Neck, with artillery and wagons, and a detachment sent out from New Haven gone to Fairfield, burnt the town, reimbarked and were off Norwalk where tis imagined they will land and destroy that place and the two bodies join to ravage and distress the country. You will march to-morrow morning as early as possible. You will direct Colonel Moylan with the Cavalry and infantry under his command to join you at such place as you may think proper." [*Mass. His. Soc. Col.*, 5 S., IV, 109.]

Washington wrote Moylan from New Windsor, July 10, 1779:

The Person you mention is employed by me. I place a good deal of confidence in him, though he is obliged in order to answer our purposes, to appear friendly to the enemy. I thank you for the intelligence you communicate. The ravages of the enemy particularly at this Season, are distressing; but our situation makes it impossible to prevent them. Armand's Corps has been directed to join you.

DESTRUCTION OF NORWALK.

Colonel Moylan to Washington from Wilton, 12th July, 1779:

The day on which I last addressed myself to your Excellency General Parsons ordered the Infantry which were under my command at Bedford, to march to Norwalk; finding my small party of Horse would be of little consequence in that quarter I march'd them also to Norwalk where I arrived yesterday morning just at the time the enemy had made their landing good—an engagement very soon commenced, and a vast deal of ammunition wasted, to very little purpose, as in general our militia kept at awfull distance. The few men, 150 in number, of the Infantry behaved exceeding

well, maintaind their post with the greatest bravery. They were deserted by the militia and order'd to withdraw, which they did without the least appearance of confusion. The town was shortly in ashes and now remains a monument of British barbarity—they reimbarked under cover of the smoke, which was right in our faces and I suppose Stamford will next feel the cruel effects of their rage. It was a fortunate circumstance for me that I kept my Qrs. on Saturday evening, for four hundred of the enemies horse came up to Bedford the next morning and as I am informd burnt it. They did not proceed further as they probably were informd of my departure.

I order'd Colonel White who commanded the Horse which were watching the army near Rye to join me at this place which he effected last evening. Mr. Gill a Lt. in my Regiment took four of the enemy prisoners, one is so badly wounded that I believe he cannot recover. He had some conversation with Sir Harry Clinton without knowing who he was, until told by the prisoners one of whom I should inform your Excelency is of that Corps who receive no pay, but are supported by plundering the inhabitants. I wish he had been cut down, but I believe he will meet with his deserts, as I intend to send him to Governor Clinton to whom I find he is well known. Both Regiments are now very much fatigued. I will keep as many with me as are best able to bear the hardships of this rough country and send the remainder to some place where they can rest in some kind of security, which I assure you Sir is difficult in any place near Bedford without a body of Infantry to support them. The enemy being so vastly superior to us in Cavalry. My reason for staying here is to give countenance to the militia, who seem to place some confidence in me by doing my duty yesterday. I am very confident that General Clinton's movement to Rye and that Quarter was intended to draw your army or part thereof away from the Fort which I have little doubt is the main object with him of this Campaign. A Letter from General Heath mentioning his advance towards Bedford with a Division of the Army. He orders me to move forward with the Cavalry and Infantry under my Command to join him at Hoits. I am sorry to quit this neighborhood where I know I should be of some service in keeping the militia together, but his orders shall be obeyed.

Colonel Moylan sent this report to Washington from Ridge Field, July 21, 1779:

I am again detached from the left wing of the army, having left 40 horses at Peekskill and its neighborhood under the command of Capt. Hopkins in order to watch the enemies motions, and procure inteligence from that Quarter. As I am without Infantry I cannot venture lower down, with the horse. Indeed the marching and countermarching we have had since I left Norwalk has left but few fit for duty. After they have a little rest I propose sending out small parties to gain inteligence, which is all that can be expected from our numbers compared with the enemies Cavalry. I sent a flag in last Saturday by an inteligent officer, who I had not seen until this morning. He assures me that the main body of the enemies Infantry had not marched on Sunday as he could plainly discover that they lay at the west side of the bridge leading in to East Chester, about fifteen hundred with five hundred horse were marchd to Newbridge over Groton. These Troops came to raise the siege of Verplank's point and considering the besiegers situation it was forunate they did not push their march. There is no acct. from Armand's Corps, General Heath promised to send me 150 Infantry. If it could be made up 200, it would be little enough for the Duty they will have to go thoro'. If your Excellency thinks it proper to order them on I shall be enabled to move on to Bedford as soon as they may arrive.

At this time the enemy were "advancing into Connecticut. No troops but the militia there to oppose them," wrote General Parsons to General Glover, 10th July, 1779. Grover moved his forces and arrived at Ridgefield on 22d where on 23d he received orders from Washington to "halt until further orders." Moylan was ordered to join him. Washington was then at West Point, New York. On the same day (24th) he ordered General Heath, at Mandeville, "to order Colonel Moylan to collect his horse and join General Glover under whose command he will be for the present." [*Mass.*, 5, IV, 114.]

General Glover had left Providence on July 7th to join Washington. On 16th Washington ordered Heath, at Canaan, to "March to-morrow morning towards Peekskill," where he would find General Howe with a couple of brigades—"the command of the whole will devolve on you. Send to hasten on Glover's brigade to join you at the same place." Heath was to follow Howe's instructions which were to open a battery on the enemy at Verplank's Point—which were to be one of the four brigades should be sta-

tioned in the gorge of the mountains and the other three proceed to the highlands opposite West Point. On July 19th Heath was ordered to direct Glover to halt with his brigade at Ridgefield until he is further instructed.

On July 30th Heath reported to Washington an action of Captain Hopkins of Moylan's Cavalry which caused Washington, the same day, to write Heath: "Capt. Hopkins' conduct really deserves applause and shows spirit of interprise that does Him honor."

On August 1, 1779, Washington, then at West Point, New York, wrote Moylan:

General Howe has gone to Ridgefield, to take the command of Glover's Brigade, and all the Troops in that Quarter, and will make such dispositions of them as may appear best. I am sorry it is not in my power to send you any hard money. I have but little and it is more particularly intended for Persons within the enemy's lines. If you will make out a return of your dismounted Men, and the necessary Arms and accoutrements, I will send for them. I will direct them to be supplied.

On the 6th he wrote he had received Moylan's of the 3d "and am persuaded you had made a good disposition of the Troops under your command. I believe there has been no embarkation of the Enemy, except for the Marines, on board the Ships said to be gone in pursuit of our armed Vessels, on the expedition to Penobscot."

Mrs. Moylan was ill at her father's at Bound Brook, New Jersey. Moylan applied to Washington for furlough and received this reply:

SECRET SERVICE MONEY.

Mrs. Moylan's illness will readily obtain my consent to your being absent from the army a fortnight provided a movement of the enemy should not require your presence sooner. General Howe should be made acquainted with your absence. The Sum you speak of, as having expended for secret Service, surprises me exceedingly, because I do not call to mind ever having empowered you to lay out Money for such purposes nor do I recollect ever to have received any intelligence, of an extraordinary nature, differing in any respect from that which every Officer at an advanced Post, or removed from the main army, regularly obtained (by his own observation and industry, or from the Inhabitants), transmitted to Head Quarters, and because the Sum exceeds the aggregate of the

charges of all the other Officers of the line, for Services of this kind, although some of them have been appointed for, and have attended particularly to this business. Under these circumstances and as a public Officer, my duty obliges me to call for such an account, as will justify my conduct, in ordering payment.

MOYLAN'S WORD HIS VOUCHER.

To this Moylan replied:

GREENWICH, 13th August, 1779.

Accept my most grateful thanks for your kind permission to pay a visit to Mrs. Moylan. I will, you may be assured Sir not lose time from my duty, which I assure you no officer in the army is fonder of doing than I am. As to the expence of Intelligence I give you my word and my honor I have been rather under, than over, in what I mentioned to your Excellency in my last. This, or rather Poudridge post, has been the most expensive as I promised a man who had been four times within Kingsbridge to make his Dollars Silver, and he says and I believe the last bills I gave him, which were two, one of 65 & one of 45 Dollars, he got but at the rate of 12 for one—as General Howe is at present in this place and will take every opportunity of gaining intelligence, I have not occasion to interfere in that department. At the same time I must remark to your Excellency that I had positively your orders, when I [was] with you at Middlebrook, to lay out money to gain intelligence, and when I had the honor to receive your commands of taking the command of the cavalry in the Jersey in 1778 I asked you whether I should try to gain inteligence. Your answer was "yes by all means," which made me fix my Qrs. at Trenton. Indeed the expence for information at that post was very trifleing, but if your Excellency will reccollect what I sent you from Amboy and in that neighborhood, you will see that it must have come from persons I employed within the City. I mean persons I sent in—to New York—the countermarch of the army from the Clove in that year I realy thought was occasiond by the information I had given to your Excellency.

If my word is not a sufficient voucher to the public, I assure your Excellency I will not nor cannot give any other, and if I even do get what I laid out I do not think, from the depreciation of the money that I shall be paid half what in justice I am entitled to. The freedom with which I write to your Excellency I dare say

from my knowledge of you, you will pardon, for you may be assured it does not arise from presumption. I know your heart, it is a great, a good one, and amongst your admirers there is no one who can subscribe himself with more propriety, your assured friend and affectionate Humble Sert. than

STEPHEN MOYLAN.

General Arthur St. Clair, writing to President Reed of Pennsylvania from West Point, August 24, 1779, said:

In Conversation with Col. Moylan yesterday, his Regiment came upon the Cappet. A Resolve of Congress seems to have had in view that the Regiments of Horse that have been raised in particular States should be considered as part of their Quota in the Continental Army. He would be very happy to find himself in that situation; and tho' the officers have not all been taken from Pennsylvania, the Men were, I believe, all raised there. I will be obliged to you if you will please to communicate your Sentiments on that head.

RE-ENLISTED MEN TO BE NATIVES.

Washington to Moylan from West Point, 24th September, 1779:

The return of Clothing necessary for your regiment, should be made, by you, without delay, to the Board of War, who will give you information where, to whom you are to apply.

If any of your present men, whose time of service will shortly expire, will re-inlist for the war, they will be entitled to a bounty of 200 dollars and ten dollars to the Officer re-inlisting them. If you find any in the above predicament, willing to re-inlist, you can send over for a sum of money for that purpose. Colonel Sheldon had liberty to endeavour to inlist as many new recruits, as would compleat his regiment to the establishment, provided they could be obtained upon the terms of serving with the regiment, as dismounted Dragoons, until there should be a necessity or conveniency of mounting them. This to be clearly expressed in the inlistment, that the men may have no pretext for complaint on being made to serve on foot. They were also to be inlisted for the War, and no temporary engagements entered into, on any account whatever. The bounty to new recruits to be 200 dollars and 20 dollars to the recruiting Officer. These men must be natives, of good character, and every way suitable for dragoons. If you are

of opinion that you can obtain men upon the foregoing terms, you may draw money and try the experiment.

On September 30, 1779, John Pierce, Deputy Paymaster-General, "paid Patrick Bennett for recruiting the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons to be accounted for by Colonel Moylan, $5,000." Washington the next day wrote Moylan from West Point:

"I have given Mr. Bennet a Warrant for 5000 dollars for recruiting, which sum he will deliver to you. The state of the military chest will not allow of a larger sum at this time, but you may have more when this is expended."

Moylan to Washington from North Castle, November 5, 1779:

I have received Coats and Waistcoats for the 4th Regiment, and am just now informed by Captain Hunter of Bedford that he has as many pairs of Leather breeches of the best quality as will cloath the Regiment which he will part with, if your Excelly. will be pleased to give me an order. I will purchass them from him on the best terms I can—if I have your approbation for procureing the breeches and an order for shirts, stockings & boots—the men will be enabled to keep the field and I am convinced, will do as much duty if not more, than any equal number of men in the service.

On November 20, 1779, Washington wrote Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that he would "station New Hampshire troops at Danbury and Moylan and Sheldon's Regiments to east of that." [*Mass. His. Soc. Col.*, X, 148.]

Washington to Moylan from West Point, 27th November, 1779: "You will find in the inclosed instructions the place for the cantonment of the Cavalry and the limitations for furloughing both Officers and Men."

The Instructions read:

INSTRUCTIONS.

As soon as the division under the command of Major-General Howe moves to its ground for Winter Quarters, you will proceed with your own and Sheldon's Regiment of Dragoons, to such place or places as the Quarter Master General may have assigned you for Winter Quarters. This may be in Wallingford, Durham or Hadham, as conveniences and Forage may best suit, or in case of necessity you may remove the whole or part to Colchester. In the cantonment of the regiment, you will preserve as much compact-

ness as the nature of the place will admit, that by having them all under your own eye, you may be able to keep up good discipline, and prevent dissipation and irregularity.

It is not designed that the regiment should do ordinary duty, or be called out upon every common occasion. But in case of invasion, or the advances of the enemy you are to obey the Orders of General Poor, or other your superior officer commanding at this post and assist in giving them every opposition.

Washington moved into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, where Moylan, on December 15th and 16th, wrote him relative to quartering the cavalry. Mr. Hubbard declaring the location unsuitable, and Moylan that it would well provide for the wants. However, on December 20th, Washington informed Moylan:

On a representation of Mr. Hubbard, that the difficulty of obtaining forage and other supplies for the two regiments of Dragoons at Middletown and Weathersfield, would be very difficult and productive of an enormous expense, I am to desire you will remove them to Colchester, where a Magazine of Forage is laid in, and a sufficient quantity of Stable room can be provided.

Washington, replying to Moylan's of 15th and 16th from Morristown on Christmas Day, 1779, said:

I am extremely sorry that the question of quartering the cavalry stands upon so very disagreeable a footing between Mr. Hubbard and yourself. But there are reasons which will not suffer me to retract the order contained in mine of the 20th. Though I doubt not the cavalry may be well provided and accommodated at the places you wish, yet I prefer Colchester, because large Magazines are already formed there and other preparations made. I am told too, all your Wood, where you now are, must be brought several miles at an enormous expense; at any rate fresh purchases of forage must be made, which in the present exhausted state of the treasury is scarcely practicable; or if practicable, unadvisable. You will therefore remove to Colchester.

I wish to receive from you, by the earliest opportunity, a Return of the Officers and Men in your Regiment who belong to the State of Virginia. You will mention the names and rank of the first, the number of the latter will do, in which you will note how many of them engaged for the War and to what other periods the rest stand engaged.

"NOT MY BUSINESS TO DISPUTE."

To which Moylan replied from Middletown, 4th January, 1780:

I have ordered Sheldon's Regiment on from Weathersfield to Colchester. The 4th is at Walingsford where they will remain a few days in order to give Mr. Hubbard time to make some preparation for their reception which you will see by the inclosed report is necessary—the representation made to you. Sir, were not founded on facts, but it is not my business to dispute, but to obey your orders which I shall put in execution as soon as possible—you will receive by this conveyance returns of the two Regiments for last month, and you may be assured of my transmitting them monthly agreeable to your orders. You have also a return of the officers and men belonging to the 4th Regiment who are from the State of Virginia. The weather here is very severe, and many, indeed the Majority of the Dragoons, have neither boots or shoes. I have spoke to Capt. Starr of this place who promises me to supply them with shoes. As it is a case of necessity I hope neither he or I can receive censure.

Moylan's "business" was "not to dispute" but it turned out by later events that he was justified in not approving of the selection of Colchester. The Governor and Assembly of Connecticut were likewise opposed to the cantonment of the troops there. Mr. Hubbard also confessed the selection unadvisable.

Washington wrote Moylan from Morristown, 5th January 1780:

The Board of War are anxious to compleat an arrangement of the four Regiments of Cavalry and have wrote to me on that account. You will therefore be pleased to forward that of your Regiment as speedily as possible.

To this Moylan replied:

MOYLAN'S "A SOUTHERN REGIMENT."

MIDDLETOWN, 17th January, 1780.

The exceeding heavy snows had stoppd up the roads in such a manner as rendered it absolutely impossible for the 2d Regt. to move on to Colchester or the 4th to leave Walingford, until the 14th inst. when they got as far as Durham, I expect them in from thence at this place to-morrow, where they shall remain no longer than untill a road can be found passable to Colchester, as the weather is cleared up. I hope they will be able to march in a day

or two. The river will now bear, and I am informed there is a road by marching 16 miles on it that will probably be beat sufficient. I have sent down to have it examind, and hope for a favorable report. The Inhabitants of the town of Durham, instigated by Mr. Wadsworth formerly a Bridgr. Genl. would scarcely let the Regiment halt at that place, tho in their direct rout to Colchester, for no other reason that I know of, but that they are a Southern Regiment, which I am sorry to say, is not a reccommendation in this State. I find this Gentn., if I may call him one, has represented me in an unfavorable light to the Governor, from whom I have this day received a most insulting Letter. As I know it was wrote in prejudice I will not give such an answer, as it deserves. I have one pleasure which is that no Regiment could be more orderly than the 4th since they have come into this State, and I have no doubt but they will continue so.

A further report was made by Moylan from Middletown, 22d January, 1780:

There is at last a path made from East Haddam to Colchester, by which rout I shall march off the Regiment this day. We have an exceeding cold day, and the Regiment so very badly off for undercloaths that they are much to be pitied. If the Quarters are so bad as represented to me, it will be much to be lamented that the whole has been ordered thither—Major Tallmadge informs me that a part of the 2d will march this by way of Bolton—and the remainder the 24th—the dismounted of that Regiment are to remain at Weathersfield, as it will be impossible to quarter them at Colchester. This is done at the request of Mr. Hubbard, who acknowledges that the men cannot be quartered any where convenient to the stables.

Captain Pike & Captain Craig are going to recruit for the Regiment, if your Excellency will be pleasd to order them some money for that purpose they will account for the same.

Washington to Moylan, 14th January, 1780:

His Excellency Governor Trumbull has written to me lately and informed me that the executive of the State of Connecticut are determined to take the most vigorous measures for stopping the intercourse between the inhabitants of that State and the Enemy in New York, and upon Long Island, and has requested me to direct the assistance of the Cavalry should they be found necessary for the more effectual execution of the Law. I have in answer

represented to the Governor that the Horse, after a hard Campaign, require as much repose as possible in their Winter Quarters, and have therefore desired him to call for them only in case of emergency. I hope you will not often have occasion to detach the Horse upon business of this kind, but I am to desire you to comply with the requisitions when made. Should they be too frequent we must take an opportunity of remonstrating against the practice.

To which Moylan replied:

COLCHESTER, 1st February, 1780.

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 14th Ulto. by which I am ordered to comply with the requisitions of Governor Trumbull for the assistance of Cavalry. Should they be found necessary to enforce the execution of the Laws to prevent the trade carried on from this State with the enemy, which shall be obeyed.

I am informd that the authority of this town have memorialisd the executive power of the State setting forth the impossibility of their being capable of Quartering the two Regiments in this place during the winter. Indeed they have good reason for it as it will be a difficult matter to find Qrs. even for one, to have them in such a manner as the men can be convenient to attend their horses. The 4th Regiment are at present from absolute necessity dispersed full five miles—and by the inclosed from Major Tallmadge your Excellency will see how the 2d are situated. Had the plan for quartering the two Regiments, which was first formd, taken place they could both have been well accomodated, and I will dare to say at less expence to the publick than they will be at present. I am sorry to find that there is little probability of our having grain to recruit our horses with after a hard duty the last Campaign. One quart p. day is what the Qr. Master tells me can be allowed. I mention this that your Excellency may not expect to see the Horse in order for doing duty at the opening of the Campaign. You may be assured, Sir, that nothing on my part shall be wanting to bring them in the best condition which the circumstances will allow of.

Washington at Morristown to Moylan at Colchester, 3d February, 1780:

Since I wrote to you to remove all the Cavalry to Colchester, I have seen a second representation from Mr. Hubbard to the Quarter Master General, in which he seems to confess that they

cannot be accommodated with conveniency at Colchester, and wishes Sheldon's Regiment to be left at Weathersfield. I shall therefore leave the Cantonment of the Horse to your Discretion, and have only to recommend to you to keep them as compact as the State of the Forage and Quarters will admit. I should be sorry that there should be any misunderstanding between Governor Trumbull and you, and I think you acted with great prudence in not answering a warm letter from him in the same stile, as you had reason to think he had been unwarrantably prejudiced. You will, upon the whole, find many advantages by cultivating a good understanding with the Civil Authority.

Captains Pike and Craig called upon me for money for the recruiting service. . . . I think you had best turn your attention to reinlisting your old men, and to picking up new Recruits in the Country near the Quarters of your Regiment. This may be done without incurring any extra expense.

John Pierce, Deputy Paymaster-General [appointed June, 1779], writing from Morristown, February 8, 1780, to Thomas Reed at New Windsor, sent him "an account of advances against Colonel Moylan's Regiment which remain unsettled." Mr. Henderson, Paymaster of the Regiment, disputed the justice of the stoppage, as he had mislaid his pay-rolls or left them in Philadelphia. [*Saffel,* 481.]

Moylan to Governor Trumbull:

Major Worthington handed me a Resolve of the General Assembly of this State relative to the two Regiments of Light Dragoons under my command, with your Excellency's order for the removal of the 2d Regiment from Colchester to the severall towns mentiond in the resolve for their Cantonment. I now send the necessary orders to the officers commanding that Regt. that the same may be put in execution as soon as possible.

I am very sorry Sir, that your orders are to have the Regiment so very much dispersed. It will put it out of the power of the officers to pay that attention which is so essentialy necessary for keeping up a proper discipline and will render it impossible for me to fulfil the instructions which I have received from His Excellency the Commander in Chief—from them Sir I take the Liberty to give you the following extracts: "In the Cantonment of the Regiments you will preserve as much compactness as the nature of the place will admit, that by having them all under your

own eye, you may be able to keep up good discipline, and prevent dissipation & irregularity.

"You will direct the utmost attention to the Horse, that they may come into the field in the best possible condition for service."

I must plead your Excellency's orders for my not being able to comply with these instructions—had the Regiment been stationed at any one place I would endeavour to fulfill them.

P.S.—The dismounted men of the 2d Regt. are now quartered in Weathersfield. I will be obliged to your Excellency to let me know by the earliest opportunity, whether it is your intention that they should move with the Regiment.

RESOLVE OF CONNECTICUT.

By the Governor & Commander in chief to Stephen Moylan, Esqr., Colonel Comt. of the two Regts. of American Light Dragoons now in this State.

Enclosed is a Resolve of the General Assembly of this State relative to said two Regiments. Pleas to give the necessary orders for the removal of the 2d Regiment call'd Sheldon's, from Colchester to the several towns mentiond in the Resolve, to be canton'd in the proportions and manner therein mentiond.

Given under my hand in the Council Chamber at Hartford, 5th Feby, 1780.

JONTH. TRUMBULL.

Whereas two Regiments of American Light Dragoons are now in this State, in order to be quartered. Wherefore that the same may be distributed in the several towns with the least disadvantage to the Inhabitants, &c. Resolved by this Assembly that the fourth Regiment shall remain at Colchester, where it is now—and the other or 2d Regt. called Sheldon's shall be cantond in the several towns of Farmington, Symsbury, Windsor, Suffield, East Windsor & Enfield, in equal proportions as near as may be, and to be distributed and placed in such parts of said several towns as the Civil Authority & Select Men of such towns shall order & direct.

Moylan reported to Washington:

COLCHESTER, 8 February, 1780.

Inclosed is copy of an act of the Legislature of this State, the Governor's order to me thereon, and my answer thereto, which it is my duty to lay before your Excellency.

Your Letter to me of the 14th Ulto. mentions that I am to comply with the requisitions of the Governor, for the Cavalry, when demanded, which made me not hesitate in obeying his order. Had I not this sanction Sir, was I at liberty to object to the removal of the 2d Regiment? I beg your Excellency's opinion on this point, for my future government.

To which Washington replied:

MORRISTOWN, 16th February, 1780.

With regards to the Act of Assembly of the State of Connecticut, it appears to me founded on a principle which, if extended or carried into a precedent, would be productive of consequences most injurious to the Service. In the present instance, however, there seemed a necessity for complying with it, for the greater ease of the Inhabitants and to prevent the cantonments falling too heavy on any particular place. It is always my wish to accomodate, where no great injuries can result to the service. And I would hope, that notwithstanding the sparse situation into which the cavalry are thrown, the attention of the Officers will provide against the inconveniences apprehended.

REGIMENTAL RETURN WANTED.

On February 15, 1780, Washington to Moylan requesting an exact Return of the number of Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of your Regiment, designating in a particular manner, how many of them are inlisted for the War, and the different terms of service of the residue, digested in Monthly Columns. You cannot be too expeditious in forwarding me this Return.

At this time there were 130 Pennsylvanians in Moylan's "Regiment."

On 21st Washington directed:

"Should any of the Men belong to the State of Connecticut, you will be pleased to transmit a Return of them immediately to Governor Trumbull. You will notwithstanding this, include them in the Regimental Return which you make to me."

By a return dated Wethersfield, February 22, 1780, made by Major Benjamin Tallmadge of 2d Light Dragoons it appears that in six companies there were but 1 trumpeter, 1 farrier and 5 privates of "Mounted effective dragoons." The reasons given were "Horses much reduced, almost total want of accoutrements, boots and other clothing." Colonel Moylan reported, "Fourth

Regiment returned non-effective for want of breeches, boots, shirts and stockings."

Yet duty had to be performed though the men were not in proper condition. Governor Trumbull from Hartford, on February 19, 1780, sent this order:

AN ORDER FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO MOYLAN.

At the request of the General Assembly of this State, I have to desire you to order an officer and eighteen mounted Dragoons from the Regiments under your command to march immediately to Greenwich on the Western Coast of this State, for the purpose of protecting the Inhabitants of the adjacent country, and preventing the practice of carrying embargoed provisions to the enemy at New York.

I would wish Lt. Rogers of Sheldon's Regiment to be employed on this service, as being perfectly well acquainted with that part of the country, and, as a Native, particularly interested to be active and vigilant.

Colonel Moylan replied on 21st, saying:

"As you think Natives more particularly interested to be active and vigilant, I have ordered the party from the 2d Regiment."

But three days later he had to report to the Governor that "it was not in his power to furnish the party you made requisition of," as the Adjutant of the Regiment reported "the whole being non-effective." He was "in expectation of some clothing for the 4th Regiment; if it should come timely I can easily equip the number wanting." He advised that "the Assembly ought to appoint some certain plan from which provisions can be drawn for the men and forage for the horses upon this duty."

The same day (24th) Moylan reported to Washington:

That he had received the requisition of the Governor for the eighteen men, to go on the Lines, which I orderd from the 2d Regiment, not doubting but it could be furnished from thence, but such is the state of the two Regiments in respect to cloathing that the party could not be furnished.

Colonel Moylan was then at Colchester, Connecticut.

To Washington he reported from Middletown, 29th February, 1780:

You will see by my Letters, that the Civil powers have taken

upon themselves, the cantonment of the 2d Regiment, the 4th are at Colchester, and if we are supplyed with Forage I hope to shew them to advantage, at the opening of the Campaign. I have tryed every method to prevail with the men whose time is near expiring, to reinlist but the desire of seeing home is at present their ruling passion, if I could have granted them that liberty before they march'd so far, it would, I am convinced, have had very good effects but your Excellency's instructions positively forbad it.

ILL CONDITION OF REGIMENTS.

Washington to Moylan from Morristown, 8th March, 1780:

I am exceedingly concerned to see, by the letters which have passed between Governor Trumbull and you, and by the Returns, the ill condition of the 2d and 4th Regiments of Cavalry in respect to Clothing, Arms and accoutrements. I understood that application has been made for the former directly to the Board of War, and I was in hopes that it had been provided. I shall be glad to know what prospect your Regiment has of being supplied and have wrote to Major Tallmadge on the same subject respecting Sheldon's.

A Court Martial is to be held on the 15th April next at Springfield, for the trial of Mr. Tychnor, Deputy Commissary of purchases at Co'os, on sundry charges brought against him by Colonel Hazen. Six Captains and Subs. are to be furnished from the two Regiments of Cavalry: You will therefore be pleased to order that number upon that duty, and direct them to be punctual in their attendance at the time.

Doctor Shippen has summoned you as witness upon his trial which is to be held at this place upon the 14th Instant. After leaving proper directions with the next Officer in command you will repair hither.

TRIAL OF DR. SHIPPEN.

Dr. Shippen was the Director-General of the Military Hospitals. He was charged with selling hospital stores for his own use.

Washington's order did not reach Moylan until March 27th at Middletown, where he had gone on account of the accouchment of Mrs. Moylan, who gave birth to a still-born infant.

Before receiving Washington's order to "repair" to Morristown, Colonel Moylan had sent this declaration:

I do declare upon my sacred honour that in the year 1777 I

went in company with, and by the desire of, Doctor Shippen, the Director-General of the hospitals, to a store, where I tasted five or six pipes of wine; that I recommended them for his own use, as I thought them cheap and good. Given under my hand, this sixth day of March, in Colchester, 1780.

STEPHEN MOYLAN.

The trial adjourned for "a few weeks," wrote Washington to Moylan on April 5th, adding, "It is lucky you did not set out" in obedience to his order of March 8th.

When finally tried, Dr. Shippen was acquitted.

"PREPARING FOR THE SOUTH."

On March 8, 1780, Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, urged the Board of War at Philadelphia to hasten the accoutrements and clothing for the dragoons. The Board replied on March 17th—St. Patrick's Day—that supplies for the cavalry had been ordered sent the camp. Again on March 25th Washington called for saddles for the dragoons "now preparing for an immediate departure for the South."

On the 27th he wrote Colonel Moylan that the Board of War had given directions to provide "uniform clothing for your Regiment" and would "procure caps, leather breeches and boots for the cavalry," and "make provision of swords, pistols and cartouch boxes." Washington had ordered "saddlery." He added:

"Here I must take occasion to enforce a matter which the Board of War have recommended, and which is, to draw no more than the Articles which are indispensably necessary and no more of such Articles than are really deficient. The scantiness of our Stores of every kind and the necessity of retrenching public expenses, by all possible means, makes me hope you will pay the strictest attention to this request."

MOYLAN'S DEAD CHILD.

Moylan to Washington from Middletown, 28th March, 1780:

As your Excellency's Letter of the 8th instant did not reach my hands until yesterday, it rendered my appearance at the trial of Doctor Shippen on the 14th impossible. I will obey your order by sending the six officers to Springfield from the Cavalry to sit on the trial of Mr. Tychner. The only prospect I have of getting cloathing for the 4th Regiment is the promise of the Clothier

General. I have sent Captain Pike near two months past on that business but have not since heard from him, as to the accoutrements I followed the instructions of your Excellency in applying to the D. Q. M. Genl. I know that without these necessary articles as well as some new arms, these two Regiments cannot take the field.

Mrs. Moylan has had the misfortune to be delivered of a dead child which has kept me in this town of late more than I otherwise should be as her situation requires my every attention, I hope it will sufficiently excuse my absence from Colchester. I hear from thence every day—the horses are in very good order.

Should Mrs. Moylan's health & circumstances require it, I will be much obliged by your Excellency's giving me a liberty to accompany her into the Jerseys in April or May. If I should find it detrimental to the service, I shall not make use of it.

On April 1, 1780, Moylan at Middletown sent Washington the "returns for the 2d and 4th Regiments" for March.

On April 5th Washington notified Moylan that Dr. Shippen's trial had been postponed. He would get notice of the next meeting of the Court, "which I imagine will suit that of your attendance upon Mrs. Moylan to Jersey." He sent his own and Mrs. Washington's compliments to Mrs. Moylan "and condolence in your late misfortune."

In a Postscript he added:

P.S.—The Court Martial is adjourned to the 15th May. You will therefore come down about that time, if no material duty in the line of your command should prevent you.

PENNSYLVANIA'S DRAGOONS.

To President Reed of Pennsylvania Colonel Moylan reported from Colchester, April 14th:

The Resolve of Congress passed the 15th March, 1779, respecting the Corps of Light Dragoons, has but very lately come to my knowledge, probably owing to the duty of that part of the Army Which I have the honour to command, being generally employed on the enemies Lines; and of course we are not regularly supplied with the General Orders.

Mr. John Sullivan, mentioned in this Return as belonging to the State, has not been long enough in America to have gained a Settlement in any part of the United States, but as I made him the

offer of a Lieutenancy in the Regiment during his Sojourn in Philadelphia, I have Sett him down as appertaining to Pennsylvania, which is agreeable to the Resolve of Congress before mentioned. He is a young gentleman of some fortune, and one that I have every reason to think, will do honor to himself, and to the State of which he is to be a member.

I have great satisfaction in assuring the Legislature of Pennsylvania that no men in the army have done their duty with more alacrity than those in the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons, who belong to that State, have done.

By the "Return" it was shown that 11 were engaged for the War, 5 until April, 1 until July and 1 to September. Total 18, of whom "only eleven are to be credited as part of the State's quota."

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF MOYLAN'S MEN.

The deplorable condition of the Dragoons is thus stated to General Washington:

COLCHESTER, 14th April, 1780.

On the first inst. I requested liberty to convey Mrs. Moylan to her friends in Jersey in this or the next month. She is recovering fast from her late indisposition and if I have your permission, I should be glad to set out early in May that I may have sufficient time to return before the Regiment can take the field. I propose taking the tour of the 2d Regiment next week, the 4th are recruiting fast. As to the horses, the men much to be pitied for want of *bread, shirts, boots* & *stockings* and by much more, for want of *Breeches,* I was informd that it would be deranging the system established for cloathing the Army, to get an order on Boston for the necessary clothing wanting for the 4th Regiment. Colonel Sheldon was not told so, & has got his Regiment comfortable, I am glad he has, but it makes the poor fellows of the 4th feel, for the neglect shewn them, especially as they think, they have at least as much title to attention as any Regiment of horse in the service. There are a few recruits picked up and they tell me 750 dollars is given as a bounty, by Major Lee & others recruiting westward of us, I wish to know from your Excellency whether I am entitled to give that bounty, as I have promisd the utmost given by any officer recruiting for the cavalry. It sickens me to see the 4th Regiment mouldering away. Every day now, carries off some whose times are up, and I have no inducements to offer for encourageing their

reinlisting. Badly paid with money that will not purchase an egg in this place; no bread to eat, and seeing themselves and those whom they leave behind almost naked, these are not inducements for continueing in the service.

How the officers manage, is to me inconceivable. I do declare that if I had not drawn upon France for 100 guineas, which by great economy carries me through, I should not be able to get the necessaries of Life. When things are at the worst, they will mend, is the proverb, I hope it will prove true in the present instance. A report prevails that your Excellency is to move Head Qrs. to the Southward. My ambition is to serve where your Excellency immediately commands the army. If it should be true I hope you will not leave me behind you.

This distressful condition of the army owing to the lack of supplies, even "the necessaries of life," was still further made deplorable by reason of the severity of the weather. Washington writing to Lafayette—then in France—on March 18, 1780, from Morristown, stated:

"The oldest people now living in this Country do not remember so hard a winter as the one we are now emerging from," on account of the "extreme cold and deep snows." [*Sparks,* VI, 487.]

On April 18th Washington wrote Moylan:

"There is a quantity of Arms and Accoutrements proper for Cavalry at Springfield. I have directed the Commissary of Military Stores at that place to deliver to you and to Colonel Sheldon for the use of your Regiments, such of the Articles as you may want."

He had written General Schuyler, 22d March, "Our affairs seem to be verging fast to a stagnation in every branch, even provisions."

Moylan to Washington from Hartford, 24th April, 1780:

I came to this place in order to apply to the General Assembly for to advance a sum of money to purchass Forage for the Light Dragoons as what has been collected at Colchester will be consumed in this week, and the inhabitants there, also those in the different towns where the 2d Regiment are placed, absolutely refuse to furnish any upon the credit of the United States. I have expectation that money will be lodged in the hands of the Depy. Qr. Mr. General for this purpose.

I could wish that Lt. Col. Temple was to join the Regiment

before my departure for Morristown in order to attend Doctor Shippen's trial, which I find is adjourned to the 15th May, at which time I hope personally to pay my respects to your Excellency.

I will leave this place to-morrow in order to visit the different Troops of the 2d Regiment and will report the state of that and of the 4th Regt. to your Excellency when I have the honour to see you.

Mrs. Moylan hopes soon to thank you & Mrs. Washington in person for your kind concern on her late misfortune. We propose setting out the 5th of next month at which time I will be the bearer of the Returns for the month of April.

On April 28, 1780, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania received from Colonel Moylan under date of Colchester, April 14th, a "Return of Officers and Privates of the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons belonging to the State of Pennsylvania," by which it appears that Moylan was, on June 5, 1776, Colonel by brevet and on 8th June, 1777, in the cavalry from Pennsylvania. [*Col. Rec.*, XII, 332.]

JUNE 1780.

On June 7, 1780, Washington established his headquarters at Springfield, N. J. On the 26th, when at Morristown, he sent orders to General Glover under whose command Moylan's Regiment had been placed (while he was at the home of his wife) to move on to Springfield for the purpose of receiving and forwarding the draft.

On June 10, 1780, Washington at Springfield, New Jersey, directed General Robert Howe, who though of the same name as the British brothers Howe, was a Patriot, to "consider West Point as the capital object of your attention," as there "is a suspicion of something being intended against that post." Clinton's Brigade "may shortly reinforce you. The enemy have a good many cavalry and we have none here. You will despatch immediately Moylan's regiment to join us." [Sparks', VII, 75.]

Washington was moving the army Southward.

Washington to Colonel Stephen Moylan or Officer commanding 4th L. D., Springfield, June 20, 1780:

Should the whole of your Regiment have left King's Ferry, you will be pleased to order back a Commissioned Officer and six Men, with directions to the Officer to remain on this side, and dispatch a Dragoon every morning with a written report of any

appearances upon the Water. Should any Vessels heave in sight, he will endeavour to ascertain their number and size, he will come on himself with the last man.

If the whole Regiment should not have come on, you may send these orders to the Officer in the rear.

By Colonel James McHenry, Washington's orders on July 5, 1780, to Moylan were:

His Excellency requests that you will without delay take Post with your Regiment in a situation near the rear of the Army calculated to afford you a sufficiency of Forage. From hence you will detach a commissioned Officer with fifteen Men, which you will be pleased to relieve as often as you may judge proper, and direct them to patrol the Country from the little Falls as far as Acquackenunch Bridge to Hackensack. It is the General's particular recommendation, that the patrol frequently change ground nor remain long in a place, never two nights at a time. Major Lee is directed to patrol on your left.

Moylan made reply the same day to which came this answer:

I communicated your answer to His Excellency. He thinks the little Falls too near the Enemy and leaves it to you to take a position within the fork of the River, or on this side, or on the left of the Army as you may find most convenient to the objects which he communicated. You will be pleased to advise the General as soon as you have determined on a position.

BULL'S FERRY.

On July 20, 1780, Washington ordered General Anthony Wayne to "proceed with the first and second Pennsylvania Brigades and Colonel Moylan's regiment of dragoons upon the execution of the business planned."

This was an attack on the block house at Bull's Ferry near Fort Lee on the west bank of the Hudson River.

On July 22, 1780, General Wayne from Totowa reported to General Washington that "the first and second Pennsylvania brigades, with four pieces of artillery belonging to Col. Proctor's regiment and Colonel Moylan's dragoons, took up their line of march on the 20th at three o'clock P.M. and arrived a little in the rear of New Bridge at nine in the evening. We moved again at one in the morning in order to occupy the ground in the vicinity of Fort Lee and the landing opposite King's Bridge by the dawn of day

we advanced with . . . Colonel Moylan's horse on the common road. Colonel Moylan with the horse, and a detachment of infantry, remained at the fork of the road leading to Paulus Hook and Bergen, to receive the enemy. . . . Colonel Moylan's horse drove the cattle from Bergen up towards the Liberty Pole whilst detachment of infantry destroyed the sloops and the woodboats at the landing."

Washington reported to President Huntingdon of Congress on July 26, 1780:

Having received information that there were considerable number of cattle and horses in Bergen Neck, within reach of the enemy and having reason to suspect that they meant shortly to draw all supplies of that kind within their lines, I detached Brigadier-General Wayne on the 20th with the first and second Pennsylvania brigades with four pieces of artillery attached to them, and Col. Moylan's Regiment of dragoons to bring them off. I had it also in contemplation to attempt, at the same time, the destruction of a Block house erected at Bull's Ferry, which served the purpose of covering the enemy's wood choppers and giving security to a body of Refugees, by whom it was garrisoned, and who committed depredations upon the well-affected inhabitants for many miles round.

General Wayne having disposed of his troops so as to guard the different landing places on the Bergen shore and having sent down the Cavalry to execute the business of driving off the stock.

While Wayne was attacking the block house, "the dragoons in the meantime drove off the stock which were found in the Neck, the sloops and wood boats in the dock near the block house, were burnt and the few people on board them made prisoners." Wayne lost 15 killed, 49 wounded. [*Pa. Packet,* Aug. 1, 1780.]

Washington to Moylan, Bergen County, 28th July, 1780:

There is a necessity for moving the Army from this Ground to-morrow morning, and as we have not a sufficiency of waggons for the purpose, you will be pleased to divide the whole of your Horse in small parties and send them five or six miles each way to make an impress. Sixty Waggons at least will be wanted, which are to be sent, as they are collected, to the Grand Parade. They must if possible be there some time in the night, as the Troops are to march at three in the Morning. The people may be informed that they will be discharged in three Days and perhaps sooner.

Our move is of the utmost importance and you will for that reason direct the parties to be active in the execution of their business. The people should bring Forage with their waggons if possible.

A DISAGREEABLE CRISIS.

On 30th July, 1780, Washington informed Congress "Of the most disagreeable crisis to which our affairs are brought in the Quartermaster General's department, unless measures are taken immediately to induce General Greene and other principal officers of that department to continue their services, there must of necessity be a total stagnation of military business. We must not only cease from the preparations for the campaign, but in all probability shall be obliged to disperse, if not disband, the army for want of subsistence." [Sparks', VII, 126.]

THE TRAITOR ARNOLD.

On September 27, 1780, his brother, then in Philadelphia, wrote in Spanish to Stephen on business matters but saying, "Yesterday we learned the sorrowful news that Arnold had been declared a traitor and is now in New York." Stephen replied, in French, concerning the business and saying that he had been ill by fever and was yet in such a condition that he could scarcely write. [*MS.*]

Colonel Moylan to President Reed from Camp, October 1:

Major Andre is to be executed this evening at 5 o'clock. What a pity it is not Arnold that is to suffer in his room. His conduct through the examination has been open, candid, manly, and has gained him the esteem of every one. He has been led into the scrape against his judgment, and fortunately for America, by the bad conduct of Arnold in sending him back, was catched. [Reed's *Life of Reed,* II, 276.]

"The man was noble but his last attempt wiped it out and his name remains to ensuing ages abhorred."

On November 17, 1780, Washington sent Moylan instructions:

You will immediately send off all your infirm and reduced Horses to Lancaster in Pennsylvania, at or near which place your Regiment will be cantoned for the Winter.

You will give the Officer who goes with the party directions to deliver to the Deputy Quarter Master General in Lancaster County all the Horses that you are of opinion will not be fit for

Dragoon service another Campaign; the remainder you will have recruited and put in good Order in the course of the Winter.

You will particularly attend to that part of your former Instructions, pointing out the number of Horses to be kept by each Officer according to his Rank, and see that the number is not on any account exceeded. You will have all the Old Accoutrements repaired, as soon as the Men are fixed in Quarters.

As I presume that the State of Pennsylvania is to compleat your Regiment to the establishment of the 3d and 21st October (which you have seen published in the General Orders of the 1st Instant) I would recommend it to you to wait upon the President yourself, or direct an Officer to do it, with an exact state of the Regiment as to Men and Horses, and inform him of the deficiencies in both. You will particularly explain to him, that the times of a great part of your Men expire in the course of the Winter, lest, in making provision for filling up the Corps, he may count upon them.

I do not know the mode that will be fallen upon to procure the Men and Horses: You will therefore govern yourself by the directions which may be given to you by the Executive Authority, in consequence of the measures which may be adopted. Neither do I know whether the State or Continent are to provide your Accoutrements. You will make yourself acquainted with that circumstance, and apply in season to one or the other of those necessary for a full Corps, as it is to be presumed that the State will fully comply with the requisition of Congress.

I shall direct the Officer, with the part of the Regiment which remains here, to repair to Lancaster as soon as the Army quits the Field.

Colonel Timothy Pickering, Q. M. G., to President Reed, 1780:

Col. Moylan's regiment of light dragoons being under marching orders for Winter Quarters, and the upper part of Lancaster county being judged the most eligible for the purpose, I have written to Col. Philip Marsteller, Assistant Quarter Master for that county, to use his endeavours to procure both forage and quarters for them.

Col. Moylan has at present about a hundred and seventy dragoon horses. Many of these are quite unfit for service, and will be turned over to the quarter masters for waggon and riding horses when recruited. Should his regiment be completed he will want a great number of horses to mount his recruits—probably

two hundred. These I have not the smallest prospect of being able to purchase. And as the regiment is assigned to the State of Pennsylvania as a part of its quota, I am naturally led to your Excellency as its patron.

Washington had matured an attack on the British in New York at this time. His orders to Colonel Moylan on November 21, 1780, were:

At nine O'clock in the Morning of Friday 24th you will parade with your Regiment at Totawa Bridge, furnished with two days provisions, and you will detach parties towards the New Bridge, and thence upwards to the Bridge near Demarest's and downwards, as far as you think necessary to answer the purpose to secure all the crossing places on the Hackensack, and prevent any person going with intelligence to the Enemy. You will select a sufficient party of the trustiest of your Men to patrol from the Marquis's Old Quarters below the Liberty Pole towards Bergen Town, Bull's ferry, Wehawk, Hobuck &c. A Vidette to be constantly at Bull's ferry and make reports every two hours.

Much depends on the punctual execution of these Orders for which I have intire reliance on your judgment and knowledge of the Country. I confide the rest to your discretion.

P.S.—Van Heer's Corps will join you and take your Orders.

The project, however, failed. Washington wrote that, "circumstances rendered the prosecution of the design inexpedient." [*Ford,* IX, 38.]

CHASTELLUX AND MOYLAN.

At this time the Marquis de Chastellux visited Washington's Camp at Morristown. From his *Travels,* Vol. I, pp. 141-173 this extract relating to Colonel Moylan is taken:

The reader will perceive that it is difficult for me to quit General Washington: let us take our resolution briskly then, and suppose ourselves on the Road. Behold me travelling with Colonel Moylan, whom his Excellency had given me, in spight of myself, as a companion, and whom I should have been glad to have seen at a distance, for one cannot be too much at one's ease in travelling. In such situations, however, we must do the best we can. I began to question him, he to answer me, and the conversation gradually becoming more interesting, I found I had to do with a very gallant and intelligent man, who had lived long in Europe, and who has

travelled through the greatest part of America. I found him perfectly polite; for his politeness was not troublesome, and I soon conceived a great friendship for him. Mr. Moylan is an Irish Catholic; one of his brothers is Catholic Bishop of Cork,* he has four others, two of whom are merchants, one at Cadiz, the other at L'Orient; the third is in Ireland with his family; and the fourth is intended for the priesthood. As for himself, he came to settle in America some years ago, where he was at first engaged in commerce; he then served in the Army as Aid de Camp to the General, and has merited the command of the light cavalry. During the war he married the daughter of a rich merchant in the Jerseys, who lived formerly at New York, and who now resides on an estate at a little distance from the road we were to pass the next day. He proposed to me to go and sleep there, or at least to take dinner; I begged to be excused, from the fear of being obliged to pay compliments, of straightening others, or of being myself straightened; he did not insist, so that I pursued my journey, sometimes through fine woods, at others through well cultivated lands, and villages inhabited by Dutch families.

Chastellux and Moylan remained at Morristown over night, "where the goodness of General Washington and the precautions of Colonel Moylan had procured entertainment at the inn of Mr. Arnold."

The next morning they left Morristown.

Some miles from thence, we met a man on horseback, who came to meet Colonel Moylan with a letter from his wife. After reading it, he said to me, with a truly European politeness, that we must always obey the women; that his wife would accept of no excuse, and expected me to dinner; but he assured me that he would take me by a road which should not be a mile out of my way, whilst my people pursued their journey, and went to wait for me at Somerset Court-house. I was now too well acquainted with my Colonel, and too much pleased with him, to refuse this invitation; I followed him, therefore, and after crossing a wood, found myself on a height, the position of which struck me at first sight. I remarked to Colonel Moylan, that I was much mistaken if this ground was not well calculated for an advantageous camp; he replied, that it was precisely that of Middlebrook, where General

* He did not become Bishop of Cork until 1787. He was Bishop of Kilkenny in 1780.

Washington had stopped the British in June, 1777, when Sir William Howe was endeavouring to traverse the Jersey to pass the Delaware, and take Philadelphia.

It is here that Colonel Moylan's father-in-law has fitted up a little rural asylum, where his family go to avoid the heats of summer, and where they pass whole nights in listening to the song of the mocking bird for the nightingale does not sing in America.

We soon arrived at Colonel Moylan's, or rather at Colonel Vanhorn's his father-in-law. This manor is in a beautiful situation; it is surrounded by some trees, the approach is decorated with a grass plot, and if it was better taken care of, one would think ones-self in the neighborhood of London, rather than in that of New York. Mr. Vanhorn came to meet me; he is a tall, lusty man, near sixty years of age, but vigorous, hearty, and good humoured; he is called Colonel from the station he held in the Militia, under the English Government. He resigned some time before the war: he was then a merchant and cultivator, passing the winter at New York, and the summer in the country; but since the war he has quitted that town, and retired to his manor, always faithful to his country, without rendering himself odious to the English, with whom he has left two of his sons in the Jamaica trade, but who, if the war continues, are to sell their property and come and live with their father. Nothing can prove more strongly the integrity of his conduct, than the esteem in which he is held by both parties. Situated at ten miles from Staten Island, near to Rariton, Amboy, and Brunswick, he has frequently found himself in the midst of the theatre of war; so that he has sometimes had the Americans with him, sometimes the English. It even happened to him once in the same day, to give a breakfast to Lord Cornwallis and a dinner to General Lincoln. Lord Cornwallis, informed that the latter had slept at Mr. Vanhorn's, came to take him by surprise; but Lincoln, getting intelligence of his design, retired into the woods. Lord Cornwallis, astonished not to find him, asked if the American General was not concealed in his house: "No," replied Mr. Vanhorn, bluntly. "On your honour?" says Cornwallis. "On my honour, and if you doubt it, here are the keys, you may search everywhere." "I shall take your word for it," said Lord Cornwallis, and asked for some breakfast; an hour afterwards he returned to the army. Lincoln, who was concealed at no great distance, immediately returned, and dined quietly with his host.

The acquaintance I made with Mr. Vanhorn being very prompt and Cordial, he conducted me to the parlour, where I found his wife, his three daughters, a young lady of the neighborhood, and two young officers. Mrs. Vanhorn is an old lady, who, from her countenance, her dress, and her deportment, perfectly resembled a picture of Vandyke. She does the honours of the table with exactness, helps every body without saying a word, and the rest of the time is like a family portrait. Her three daughters are not amiss: Mrs. Moylan, the eldest, is six months advanced in her pregnancy; the youngest only twelve years old, but the second is marriageable. She appeared to be on terms of great familiarity with one of the young officers, who was in a very elegant undress, forming a good representation of an agreeable country squire; at table he picked her nuts for her, and often took her hands. I imagined that he was an intended husband; but the other officer, with whom I had the opportunity of conversing as he accompanied us in the evening, told me that he did not believe there was any idea of marriage between them. I mention these trifles only to show the extreme liberty that prevails between the two sexes, as long as they are unmarried. It is no crime for a girl to embrace a young man; it would be a very heinous one for a married woman even to show a desire of pleasing. Mrs. Carter, a handsome young woman, whose husband is concerned in furnishing our army with provisions, and lives at present at Newport, told me, that going down one morning into her husband's office, not much decked out, but in a rather elegant French undress, a farmer of the Massachusetts' State who was there on business, seemed surprised at seeing her, and asked who that young lady was. On being told "Mrs. Carter." "Aye!" said he, loud enough for her to hear him, "A wife and a mother, truly, has no business to be so well dressed."

At three o'clock I got on horseback with Colonel Moylan and Captain Herne, one of the young officers I had dined with. He is in the light cavalry and consequently in Colonel Moylan's regiment.

At four o'clock I set out, after separating, but not without regret, from the good Colonel Moylan.

Colonel Moylan made this report to General Washington then at New Windsor, New York:

PHILADELPHIA, December 7, 1780.

Colo. Temple had waited on the Board of War & the President of this State; shewd them the instructions I received from your

Excellency respecting the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons. The former could do nothing, the latter has laid the matter before the Assembly, individuals of which inform me they are disposed to do everything in their power for recruiting men and purchassing horses for the Regiment but the finances of the State are in so deplorable a condition that they do not know when they will have the ability to put their will in execution. It is reccomended that I should remain in this place until some plan can be form'd for this purpose.

Washington sent this order to Moylan from New Windsor, 8th December, 1780:

You will be pleased to make to the Board of War as soon as possible, an accurate Return of the Men and Horses in your Regiment, the quantity of Cloathing, and number of Arms, Accoutrements and Furniture of every kind fit for service, and what will be the deficiency, estimating the strength of your Corps at the New Establishment. You will also make a Return of the Articles of Clothing and Accoutrements drawn by the Regiment since the 1st September, 1779. The foregoing are called for by the Board of War, for their government, as they are directed by Congress to make provision for the Cavalry.

HIS BROTHER IN SPAIN.

John Jay, Minister to Spain, writing to Robert Morris from Madrid, December 18, 1780, said:

"When you see Colonel Moylan tell him that his brother is here and very well. We see each other often. He formerly lived at Cadiz—but as Government ordered all the Irish to remove from the seaports, he was obliged with many others to quit it. It is said that their too great attachment to Britain occasioned this Ordinance." [*N. Y. His. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 454]

On New Year's night, 1781, "a most general and unhappy mutiny took place in the Pennsylvania Line," as General Wayne reported the next day from Mount Kemble to Washington, that one-half of the men had taken part. The men angered by long delayed payment and their demand to be discharged as their time of enlistment had passed. "Their general cry is to be discharged and that they will again enlist and fight for America, a few excepted."

On January 4th Colonel Moylan was at Princeton from where he wrote President Reed at Philadelphia:

"I joined General Wayne this day in order to give any assistance that may be in my power. As the enemy will in all probability come out, if the Line will act as they say they will, I shall then be of some service. Should your Excellency think it would be my duty to join my regiment or stay to see the end of this affair pray let me know by bearer. I think my presence at Lancaster may well be dispensed with, I hope you will think so." [*MSS., Pa. His. Soc.*]

As the mutinous soldiers were Pennsylvanians, President Reed went to the scene of action. He wrote to the Committee of Congress on January 9, 1781: "I had the pleasure of meeting General Wayne and Colonels Butler, Stewart and Moylan who have been permitted to come out freely to me. They make such a report of the good temper of the men and their anxiety to see us that I have concluded to go among them. These are the only officers they allow to have communication with them or pass their posts."

The revolt was satisfactorily settled after two British Spies sent to seduce the men to British allegiance had been hung by the revolting soldiers. [*Penna. Arch.*, 2d Series, Vol. XI.]

On January 26, 1781, Colonel Moylan made this report of the officers of the Dragoons who belonged to Pennsylvania:

"Return of the officers of the 4th Regt. Light Dragoons belonging to the State of Pennsylvania: Col. Stephen Moylan, Capt. John Craig, Lt. John Sullivan, Thos. M. McCalla, Surgeon; William Thompson, Riding Master."

The next day a certificate was issued from the War Office to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania that they were Officers of the Pennsylvania Line.

Preparations were being hastened to carry on the campaign of 1781 in the South where the British forces were being sent, causing trouble and making desolation reign.

Washington, at New Windsor, New York, on February 26th, wrote General St. Clair:

"Congress have determined that the Pennsylvania Line, except Moylan's dragoons and the troops upon command to the westward, shall compose part of the Southern army and have directed me to order it to join the army in Virginia by detachments as they may be in readiness to march. It was essential that one of the Brigadiers

should proceed with the first detachment. Upon Gen. Wayne devolves the duty." [*St. Clair Papers,* I, 541.]

The Board of War, on March 13, 1781, wrote President Reed of Pennsylvania:

A very considerable Time ago we ordered the Dragoons of Col. Moylan's Regiment to take the Guard at Lancaster of the Magazine & publick stores, & are at a Loss to know why our Orders were not complied with. The Store & Ammunition are by no Means so considerable as the Inhabitants represent but some Attention should be paid to them, & we thought we had provided for their Security by ordering the Guard before mentioned. We shall call upon the Commanding Officer to know the Reasons of his Failure to put our Directions into Execution.

Colonel Moylan, from Lancaster, 22d March, 1781, reported to Washington:

We get some men, but no prospects of horses or accoutrements yet in view. Congress have *resolved* that they shall be got, and there it rests. I will return to Philadelphia to-morrow, and if my public duty will not prevent it, propose bringing Mrs. Moylan from Jersey to this place, where I shall be happy in receiveing your Excellency's commands.

My brother James has sent you a case of Claret which I deliverd to the D. Q. M. G. to be forwarded—he prays your Excellency would pardon the Liberty, and accept of it, as a small mark of the veneration he has for your exalted character. These Sir are his words, which I know to be correspondant to his sentiments.

To which General Washington made reply from New Windsor, 4th April, 1781:

I have written both to the Congress and to the Board of War, and used every Argument to induce a speedy completion of the Regiments of Cavalry. They will be more than ever useful, now the active scene is, in a measure, transferred to the Southward.

You will be good enough, the first opportunity you have of writing your brother in France, to thank him for his present of Claret. It has not yet come to hand.

General St. Clair to President Reed, April 3, 1781:

"I have received information of great uneasiness prevailing among the soldiery, occasioned by the detention of their bounties and the non-payment of the gratuity to the re-enlisted soldiers—unless they are soon made easy on those heads, it is likely to end

in general desertion. I must mention also the case of Col. Moylan's regiment. The General expected to march with the detachments; they have not more than fifty horses fit for service, and are in want of every kind of equipment." [*St. Clair Papers,* I, 544.]

On April 6th General St. Clair, to Washington from Philadelphia, wrote:

"That three battalions of 960 men were ready to march in a week to Yorktown. Col. Moylan's Regiment is in such a situation that it must be a considerable time before they can possibly move, having but eighty men and fifty horses fit for service, in want of every equipment and no money in any of the departments to procure them." [*Ibid,* I, 546.]

Washington to Congress on April 8, 1781:

"I wish the march of the Pennsylvania troops could be facilitated and that Moylan's cavalry could be recruited, equipped and marched without delay; for every judicious officer I have conversed with from the southward, and all the representations I received thence, confirm me in the opinion, that great advantages are to be derived from a superior cavalry." [*Sparks',* VIII, 2.]

Washington, from New Windsor, N. Y., 18th April, 1781, wrote to General Greene:

"I have again urged Congress to recruit, equip and forward Moylan's Dragoons to you with despatch." [Ford's: *Writings,* IX, 221.]

On May 16, 1781, General Wayne, at Lancaster, wrote President Reed of Pennsylvania relative to the necessaries wanted by Colonel Moylan, especially cattle, to serve the detachment until it arrived in Virginia.

The same day he wrote the State's Agent, Henry, at Lancaster, for the necessaries actually wanted for fitting out sixty horse of Colonel Moylan's regiment whose services to the southward are of the utmost importance. I wish to have the cavalry in readiness to take up their line of march in two weeks.

Henry replied that it would give him great pleasure if it were in his power to fit out the sixty Light Dragoons, but he had advanced a large sum of money of Pennsylvania to the United States and did not know when it would be repaid. He had some leather belonging to the United States which would furnish leathery accoutrement for the sixty dragoons if the President of the Council

would order the leather to be made up, which could be done in two or three weeks—the United States to pay for the workmanship.

On May 19th the Board of War asked President Reed to give the order to provide the accoutrements to Moylan's Horse. All money advanced out of the State treasury be charged to the United States. [*Pa. Ar.*, I, 9, 139.]

That day an "unhappy affair" occurred at the Lancaster Camp which was reported by Colonel Adam Hubley to President Reed, May 21, 1781:

Necessity as well as duty obliges me to give Council a short narrative of an unhappy affair which happened on the 19th instant between the Guards and Col. Moylan's Dragoons. It appears one of the Dragoons for some offence which he had committed was put into the Gaol-house. A rescue by the Dragoons was agreed on. They accordingly assembled armed with Pistols and swords march'd to the Barracks and one more daring than the [others] stept up to the sentinel who previously desired him not to advance or he would put him to death. This however had no effect, he (the Dragoon) first cocking & presenting his loaded Pistol attempted to sieze the sentinel's arms who instantly fired & killed him. The deceas'd's Pistol in his falling went off also & wounded one of the militia men in the thigh.

May 22d, General Weedon to Colonel Grayson: "We shall shortly send sixty of Moylan's horse; also 300 new recruits from Maryland and Delaware." [*Papers Md. Line*, 146.]

LAFAYETTE.

The Marquis de Lafayette in reporting to Washington from Richmond, Va., 24th May, 1781, relating the situation of affairs in that quarter said: "Cavalry is very necessary to us. I wish Lauzun's legion could come. I am sure he will like to serve with me; and as General Greene gave me command of the troops in this State, Lauzun might remain with me in Virginia; if not, Sheldon's dragoons might be sent. As to Moylan, I do not believe he will be ready before a long time." [Sparks' *Corr. Rev.*, III, p. 322.]

The "utmost importance" of even a portion of Moylan's command to reinforce Lafayette in Virginia is made manifest by General Weedon to Moylan from Hunter's Heights, June 8, 1781:

I am just from the Marquis' [Lafayette] camp who labors under every disadvantage for want of horse. He is informed 60 of your regiment is ordered to the Southward and requested me to drop you a line, with his compliments, well knowing that a knowledge of his situation would be a sufficient inducement to hurry you on.

Indeed he is to be pitied. The enemy have near 400 cavalry; he has only 40 that can be called established dragoons; this superiority of horse gives the enemy a decided advantage and subjects his parties to every evil. In short, if he is not speedily reinforced, they must overrun our country.

Understanding you are in Philadelphia, I refer you to my friend Grayson for news. [*Papers Md. Line,* p. 150.]

CONGRESS RESOLVES.

The United States in Congress Assembled, June 12, 1781,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the State of Pennsylvania to raise, accoutre and equip Moylan's legionary corps to its full complement the men to be raised for three years unless sooner discharged.

That it also be earnestly recommended to the said State immediately to raise and equip three troops of Militia Cavalry properly officered;

That the said cavalry be marched by detachments as they are compleated to the southern Army and the militia Cavalry discharged in proportion to the numbers enlisted into Moylan's regiment and joining the said army properly armed and accoutred.

Colonel Moylan was at this time at West Point, New York, gathering his men for the southward march. On June 18th he reported to General Washington then at Springfield, New Jersey:

Captain Craig is come with 38 horses and only waits for cloathing of which the men are very destitute, to proceed to Head Qrs. I expect the cloths down from Newboro this evening.

The remainder of the Regiment are coming on and hope they will be at King's ferry or its vicinity the day after to-morrow; if the enemy do not prevent us I will move on with them with all possible dispatch. Should we be interupted in this quarter, I will march them over by way of Fishkil.

Washington writing from New Windsor, 27th June, 1781, to Major Tallmadge of the 2d Regiment of Dragoons:

"Colonel Moylan's Regiment is on its way to join you, which will render the duty easier and your troops there more respectable." [*Sparks' W.*, VI, p. 278.]

A roster of the Field and Staff Officers of Moylan's Regiment, July 3, 1781, may be read in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. III, pp. 835-51, and of Non-Commissioned Officers, 1781-1783.

To Dr. James McHenry, Aide-de-Camp and Secretary to Washington, Colonel Moylan wrote on 5th July, 1780:

"It is his Excellency's desire that I should post my Regiment near the rear of the army at a place calculated to afford a sufficiency of Forage. I have been from the right to the left of the army, in its front and in its rear, and can assure you, that except I was to crowd in upon the ground occupied by Major Lee's Corps, or get upon Pumpton plains I do not know a place where a Regt. of horse could subsist themselves in the Rear or Right. The 4th is at present at the little Falls and shall be glad to know whether I shall move them to, for I assure you I know not, except I get upon the road leading to Morristown. There's good ground about two miles to the Left of Head Quarters."

MOYLAN GOING TO THE SOUTHWARD.

Colonel Stephen Moylan to President Reed, Lancaster, 10th July, 1781:

The Detachment from the 4th Regt. which will leave this tomorrow takes off all the Subaltern officers except two. Recruits are daily coming in, and in a short time, as the Last act for recruiting the Line comes to operate, many more may be expected; it will therefore be absolutely necessary that more Subalterns should be appointed to that Regiment.

President Reed replied to the request for the appointment of the Lieutenants, saying:

Upon looking over the Arrangement printed last Winter we find the number of officers amount to 15, By the Accounts we have of the strength of the Regimt. it is stated to us at 80; We would therefore wish you to consider whether it will not be most conducive to the public Good to defer the appointment of new officers till the Regiment is farther compleated.

MOYLAN "TAKES A POST IN FRONT."

The army moved Southward and by the close of the month were in Virginia.

Colonel James McHenry, Aide-de-Camp to LaFayette and afterwards Secretary of War in the administrations of Washington and Adams, relates under date of July 30, 1781, that "General Wayne and General Morgan are at Good's bridge on the South side of the James River. Col. Moylan and one regiment of light infantry will cross to-day to take a post in front, the militia and the remainder of the infantry on this side." [*Life,* p. 39.]

On October 1, 1781, Moylan's Dragoons were at Williamsburg, Virginia.

YORKTOWN.

From "Camp before York, 8th Octr., 1781," Washington issued this order to Moylan:

There being an absolute necessity for reinforcing General Greene with Cavalry as expeditiously as possible, you will immediately collect all the Men and Horses of the 4th Regiment and report to me the Articles of Clothing of which you stand in need that I may endeavour to furnish you out of a few things (though not of the proper kind for Dragoons) which are coming from the Head of Elk.

In the Order of Battle of Yorktown the first or Right Division was: (1) Pennsylvania Volunteers Battalion of Riflemen under Major William Parr; (2) Fourth Regiment Continental Light Dragoons, Colonel Stephen Moylan. [*Mag. Am. His.,* Oct., 1881.]

So it will be seen Moylan's command had a very honorable, though dangerous position. Lord Cornwallis, besieged at Yorktown, surrendered on October 19th. The captive army moved with grace and precision. Universal silence was observed amidst the vast concourse, and the utmost decency prevailed; exhibiting in demeanor an awful sense of the vicissitudes of human fortune, mingled with commiseration for the unhappy. [Lee's *Memoirs,* 512.]

MOYLAN'S DRAGOONS.

(Supposed to be sung in honor of Moylan's Dragoons, after the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, in 1781.)

By Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee.

Furl up the banner of the brave,
And bear it gently home,
Through stormy scenes no more to wave,
For now the calm has come.

Through showering grape and drifting death
It floated ever true;
And by the signs upon our path,
Men knew what troop went through.

Our flag first flew o'er Boston free,
When Graves's fleet groped out:
On Stony Point, reconquered, we
Unfurled it with a shout;
At Trenton, Monmouth, Germantown,
Our sabres were not slack;
Like lightning, next, to Charleston
We scourged the British back.

And here at Yorktown now they yield,
And our career is o'er.
No more thou'lt flutter o'er the field,
Flag of the brave!—no more.
The Redcoats yield them to "the Line";
Both sides have changed their tunes.
To peace the Congress doth incline;
And so do we Dragoons.

Furl up the banner of the brave,
And bear it gently home;
No more o'er Moylan's march to wave.
Lodge it in Moylan's home.
There Butler, Hand and Wayne, perchance,
May tell of battles brave,
And the old flag on its splintered lance
Above their heads shall wave.

Hurrah, then, for the Schuylkill side—
Its pleasant, woody dells!
Old Ulster well may warm with pride
When each his story tells.
Comrades, farewell! May Heaven bestow
On you its richest boons!
So let us drink before we go,
To Moylan's brave Dragoons!

Poets are not historians. What "flag" Moylan's Dragoons had is unknown. Strange as it may now seem the Stars and Stripes was not usually borne by the Army. The only Stars and Stripes carried by a Revolutionary Regiment now preserved is that of the Third Maryland Regiment now at the Capitol at Annapolis.

The poet speaks of "Old Ulster" as if "Butler, Hand and Wayne" and also Moylan were born in that Province of Ireland.

Butler was born in Dublin; Hand in King's County; Wayne in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Moylan in Cork. Old "Ireland" might the better be used than "Ulster."

On October 26th Washington issued this order to Colonel Moylan:

MOYLAN ORDERED TO JOIN GREENE.

Out of the captured Horses and Accoutrements, and such others as belong to the public, and are to be obtained, you are to equip the first, third and fourth Regiments of Cavalry and Colonel Armand's Corps, and prepare the whole, with as much expedition as possible, for a march to reinforce the Army under the command of Major-General Greene.

On October 31st Moylan was ordered by Washington:

JOINS ST. CLAIR.

In addition to my Orders of the 26th, I have to desire that you will prepare as large a Body of Horse as you possibly can, and join (at such time and place as Major Genl. St. Clair shall appoint) the detachment which he is marching to the Southward. In this I do not mean to include Colonel Armand's Partisan Corps, as it will have a particular place of rendezvous assigned it. But the Infantry of the first, third and fourth Regiments are to be comprehended.

Such Officers belonging to these Regiments respectively, as you shall conceive necessary, may be left to take charge of and forward on the residue of the Corps, the Invalids, Sick and necessaries appertaining to each. A good and active Officer of Rank should have the general direction of the whole to prevent confusion, delay, and that misapplication of time and means, which, unhappily, are but too often met with in our Service.

Though in command of three "Regiments" of Cavalry and of the infantry attached to each, the report of Colonel Moylan shows the skeleton condition of the bodies designated "Regiments" which Moylan was to command in the army of General Greene. He reported to Washington from the Camp, November 1, 1781:

MOYLAN'S "REGIMENT."

It is my duty to lay before your Excellency the situation of my Regiment. It consists of three field officers, six Captains and five Lieutenants. They have 94 men to command.

One field officer, one Capt. & two Lieutenants with 40 men are gone to Carolina, the remainder are taking care of some of those captured horses which will not be fit for service these four months—if ever. Pensilvania, to which the Regt. belongs have hitherto done nothing for it. A Letter from your Excellency to the executive power of that State on this subject must be of great service, and if I was permitted to be the bearer of it, I think the Regt. may yet be on a respectable footing. I have many reasons for requesting this favor, the principal one is, that my health at this time is very bad indeed. A flushed face gives me the appearance of health, whilst an inward fever and an obstinate Dissentry is preying on my vitals. Added to these a total loss of appetite; such is my condition with respect to health. Perhaps the northern climate may restore it. Should that be the case you may be assur'd Sir, I shall loose no time in joining the Southern Army.

Col. Armand has got all the horses but 45. Col. White & Col. Baylor divide the arms & accoutrements, according to the strength of their Regiments. I have sufficient for my men, at Lancaster, which can be got to the detachment long before the horses can be fit to march. I have not yet got the returns; when I do the Qr. Mr. Genl. shall be furnished with them. Pistols & bridles are very defficient, however I think 200 horse can march with General St. Clair.

To which Washington replied the same day:

Your letter expressing your desire to return to Philadelphia with a view of engaging the Executive of Pennsylvania to exert themselves in favour of this part of their Quota.

I cannot conceal from you, Sir, that it is with pain I see my Instructions answered by applications of this kind. The Journey to Philadelphia I am so well persuaded will be fruitless as to the principal object that the trouble and expense of it ought to be avoided. The additional motive of ill health, if your indisposition is of a nature so serious as to incapacitate you for service, is one of those necessities that must be conclusive.

The following day Washington's Secretary wrote Colonel Moylan:

MOYLAN'S ILL HEALTH.

"In consideration of your Health, he consents to your going to Philadelphia, where you are to use your endeavours for placing

your Regiment in the best state for Service. If any recommendation from him will be of service, he is willing to second your application, although he has but little hope of success from that Quarter.

"Before your departure the General wishes you to see every arrangement made that is necessary for the Cavalry moving on to the Southward as expeditiously as possible."

To which Moylan answered:

CAMP, November 3, 1781.

Please to make my acknowledgement to his Excellency, for his kind consideration of the state of my health and let him know that I do not mean to leave this State, until I find every thing *en train* which can contribute to the forwarding as many horse as possible with General St. Clair. I shall go this day to Williamsburg on my way to Petersburg (the latter place is the rendezvous for the Cavalry). I wish the General would give a Letter to the Executive of Pennsylvania respecting the 4th Regt. L. D., it may be of great service, and can have no ill consequences, I will call at Head Qrs. before I set off, and be glad to take it along with me.

WASHINGTON AND THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK.

Colonel Moylan came to Philadelphia. He was present at the December meeting of The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick when "His Excellency General Washington was unanimously Adopted a member of this Society," records the Minutes. It was ordered that the Medal of the Society be presented to Washington and that he "and his Suit be invited to an Entertainment to be prepared & given him at the City Tavern on Tuesday, the first of January," to which were invited "the President of the State & of Congress, the Minister of France, Mr. Marbois. Mr. Otto, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Francisco Rendon, Mr. Holker, Count de la Touche & Count Dillon with all the General Officers that may be in the City."

So on New Year's Day, 1782, the extra meeting was held. The Generals present were Washington, Lincoln, Steuben, Howe, Moultine, Knox, Hand, McIntosh. There were twenty-one guests and thirty-five members present, but Colonel Moylan was not in attendance. He was at the St. Patrick's Day dinner, however.

Where now is the medal of The Friendly Sons which was presented Washington?

When General St. Clair arrived at Washington's camp, Gen-

eral Wayne was ordered, on January 4, 1782, to Georgia, having under him Lieutenant-Colonel White, who had lately joined the army with one hundred Light Horse, the remains of Moylan's regiment of dragoons. Wayne proceeded without delay and in a few days crossed the Savannah River at the Two Sisters Ferry. The immediate object of this motion into Georgia was to protect the country from the incursions of the British at Savannah and to establish the authority of the United States. [Lee's *Memoirs,* p. 539.]

But with the further movements of this army and its remnant of Moylan's Dragoons we are not concerned, as Moylan was not in command of the men who had so long followed him.

On June 13, 1782, General Gist was appointed by General Greene commander of all the Light Troops. The cavalry of Lee's Legion, "the Third Regiment" and Moylan's Fourth Regiment being placed in command of Colonel Baylor. [*Ibid,* 552.]

In October, 1780, Captain B. Edgar Joel made charge against Major-General Robert Howe, who had been engaged in the defense of Georgia against the British, that he had sacrificed Savannah, December 29, 1778. On October 18th the Board of War referred the charges to General Washington, then at Passaic Falls, New Jersey. The operations of the army debarred trial until a Court-Martial, over which Baron Steuben presided, was held at Philadelphia on December 6, 1781. Colonel Moylan was a member of the Court. He served until January 3, 1782.

General Howe was "acquitted with the highest honor."

There were two Howes in the British service in America—Sir William Howe and Viscount Richard Howe.

After the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, military operations practically ceased on both sides. The projected campaign in the South did not take place, so Colonel Moylan was not called into service. He remained at Philadelphia. The annexed document attests his presence there while Washington was at Newburg, New York, pending the consideration of Articles of Peace. Secretary Tilghman was the writer on 20th September, 1782:

Sergeant Morris of your Regiment has applied to His Excellency for a discharge upon procuring another Man in his Room. This is a practice that His Excellency would not wish to tolerate, but as Morris seemed much discontented, and is of ability to do mischief in the Corps, by stirring them up, by a frequent recapitu-

lation of their grievances, he thinks it best to get rid of him upon the terms he offers. You will therefore give Orders to the Commanding Officer at the place of rendezvous to discharge him upon procuring an able bodied and otherwise good Man in his stead.

Though the army was inactive awaiting the terms of peace, consolidation arrangements were being perfected so as to make the force more concentrated for service, if needed.

Colonel Moylan's concern at the possibility of having his command taken from him by the measures projected is shown in his letter to Washington:

MOYLAN "A MAN WHO HAS SACRIFICED EVERYTHING FOR THE SERVICES OF HIS COUNTRY."

PHILADELPHIA, December 15, 1782.

The Minister of War informing me he intended paying a visit to your Excellency on the subject of the new arrangement, I take the liberty of communicating what past between us, respecting the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons.

By the returns it appears, that Regt. is reduced to two Troops, one mounted, the other not. These are to be commanded by one Field Officer two Captains & the proper number of Subalterns. General Lincoln says that he supposes a Major will be appointed to this command, in which case, after eight years service I shall be laid aside. This command tho inadequate to my rank would be more agreeable—for when the Army is in the field, that objection would be removed, and being the oldest in the Line of Cavalry I am thought to believe, that the senior in each Line have it in their option, to continue in service or not, as they choose.

In this Line there is not a Field Officer (myself excepted) that belongs to the State of Pensilvania, tho I dare say, they will be perfectly satisfied with what your Excellency may determine on; it is very natural to suppose that they would prefer an officer of their State, to that of another to command their own Troops.

I have made application to the Executive power of this State, who promised me all their influence towards completing the 4th Regt.

I mentioned this circumstance to the Minister of War; he told me Congress did not wish to increase the Cavalry—which has put a stop to any farther proceedings of mine in that business.

When I entered the service—which was early in the first year of the war—I did it with a firm determination of prosecuting it to the end. I had made up my mind, and my affairs for that purpose. I have shared its fatigues, its dangers and its pleasures, with your Excellency ever since—should I be now left out, I shall be very much disapointed and very much distressed. General Lincoln informs me, it will depend upon you to officer the Corps. I am sure you will do it, in the manner which will appear to your Excellency most consistant with rectitude. From the polite and friendly attention I have allways experienced from you—I have expectations, that you will retain in the Army a man who has sacrificed everything for the service of his Country.

Should there be anything inconsistant with the new plan of arrangement by my remaining in the Line I now serve in, it may be in your Excellency's power to find other employment for me, if such should offer near your own person, it would be very pleasing to me.

To this Washington made reply on December 25, 1782:

WASHINGTON'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO MOYLAN.

I have been favoured with the receipt of your Letter of the 15th Instant, concerning the reduction of your Regiment, and have conversed with the Secretary at War on the subject. That Gentleman (on whose determination will depend the particular modes to be adopted in the reformation of the Lines not serving immediately under my Orders) has gone to the Eastward, without deciding any thing positively as to the reduction of the Cavalry. However, it appears to me, to be his prevailing opinion that as your Legion could not remain entire, but must be reduced to the broken part of a Corps, it would be best to annex the company of Infantry as a Flank Company to one of the three Regiments of Pennsylvania Line, still allowing the Officers and Men the pay and Emoluments they formerly enjoyed. Should this be the case, or at any rate, I imagine the remainder of the Legion will soon be too small a command for even a single Field Officer of any grade.

But as nothing can be ultimately determined upon before the return of General Lincoln, and as some event may happen or intelligence arrive in the mean time, which will lead to an alteration in the Plan of arrangement, I thought it expedient to take the first opportunity to advise you of these particulars and to assure you

(whatever the circumstances of the public or the service may eventually require) of my unalterable Esteem and Regard.

General St. Clair to President Dickinson of Pennsylvania:

PHILADELPHIA, February 10, 1783.

I enclose an arrangement of the fourth Regiment of light Dragoons and Colonel Moylan's Return. The Return did not come to my Hands untill this Day, for want of which, and some Knowledge of the Intentions of Major Fauntleroy the arrangement has been delayed, it must however be supposed to have taken place upon the first of January, and I have dated it accordingly—that Corps will consist of two Troops one mounted and one dismounted.

General St. Clair continued that Major Fauntleroy if "in service on the first of January, is of course continued in the command of the two troops," but as he had been long absent and "it is even doubtful whether he has not resigned, and had been guilty of neglect if not contempt in having on a former occasion gone away contrary to orders," General St. Clair concluded the office should be considered vacant.

So "after eight years service" General Moylan was "laid aside."

MUTINY.

On April 19, 1783, Washington issued an order declaring "a cessation of hostilities" and advising "the Patriot Army to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which has crowned all their former virtuous actions." The army was disbanded eight years to a day after the Revolution had begun. But the army had not been paid. Some parts not for years. Washington's suggestion that those enlisted for the war should be allowed to retain their arms and accoutrements was sanctioned by Congress. In May it allowed him to grant furloughs or discharges while awaiting settlement of accounts and securing of funds. Within two months most of the soldiers had gone home and without being paid. A body of Pennsylvanians, enlisted as late as November, 1782, and stationed at Lancaster and Philadelphia, mutinied and marched to the State House in Philadelphia where Congress was in session demanding that justice be done them within "twenty minutes," threatening to "let in these injured soldiers upon you." They seized the magazine. The mutiny continued a week. An account of it may be read in Scharf & Westcott's *History of Phila-*

delphia, Vol. I; Hatch's *Administration of the Revolutionary Army,* Chap. IX, and other publications.

Congress removed to Princeton on account of this mutiny.

MOYLAN'S MUTINEERS.

Our concern is with Moylan's Dragoons who were concerned in this revolt. We have seen how Colonel Moylan procured a Lieutenancy for John Sullivan, newly arrived, and had him credited to Pennsylvania's quota. He was one of the Committee of the Mutineers threatening Congress. A rumor that Washington, with a body of three-year men, retained until the British would evacuate New York, and the New Jersey Militia, were coming to the protection of Congress caused the mutineers to submit. Their committeemen made flight. Sullivan and a fellow-member, Captain Henry Carberry of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment reached Chester and from there wrote the third: "Consult your own safety; we cannot get to you." They embarked for England. [Hatch: *Adm. Rev. Army,* 186.]

SULLIVAN'S DEFENSE.

On June 26, 1783, Sullivan, from Chester, wrote Colonel Moylan:

"Do not blame me. The success of every enterprise generally demonstrates it right or wrong. Had not the soldiers betrayed us, we should have carried our point or perrished in the attempt."

On June 30th he wrote from "The Cape":

"If a consciousness of Rectitude can be a consolation to men in Adversity, be assured our Spirits are far superior to our circumstances and I am Confident that none but persons accustomed to judge of things by the event will reprobate our conduct. The little prospect of succeeding in such an attempt and the difficulties we had to encounter were so great, that [not] to have been confident of success would have proved us to be as destitute of prescience as of common sense. But a series of injuries and the incessant indignities we experienced were our sole inducements for prosecuting the plan at all risks. I am not ignorant of the sentiments of the men in power in respect to the army and the ideas they entertain of the passiveness of the officers. Those circumstances determined us to convince them we had a just and right sense of our wrongs and were not callous to ill treatment. It —— little what appearences —— may assume to veil Injustice but its a duty encumbent

on honest men, by investigating the principles of —— policy not to submit to the imposition. Actuated by the present motives of patriotism and disinterestedness. I abandoned my dearest concessions (?) at a tender age to fight under American colours at a critical period and when affairs were equally balanced. For my conduct in the army either as a Soldier or a gentleman, I appeal to the officers in general and you in particular to decide on. I flatter myself you will not suppose that my attachment for this Country is diminished in the most trivial degree. I ever had an innate affection for America and were she on the verge of ruin, I would come and perish with her. Let what bad men there are at the helm of Government observe from this instance how dangerous it is to drive men of honor to desperation. The person concerned with me is Capt. Carberry. This Young Gentleman served with eclat in the Army, bled and spent a pretty fortune in the service of his country. I have requested Capt. Than [?] to be punctual in paying what triffling debts I owe and have requested your Brother John to draw on my father if necessary.

"We are wafted along by a gentle and generous gale and possess the most perfect tranquility of mind conscious of no unworthy actions, all we regret is failing in a noble attempt.

"'And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,
Than Cæsar with a Senate at his heels.'

"Adieu, my dear Colonel, be convinced I have just sense and want words to express my gratitude for the peculiar mark of favor and affection you have confered on me."

These letters of Lieutenant Sullivan are "copies from memory" among the Papers of Ben Franklin, in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

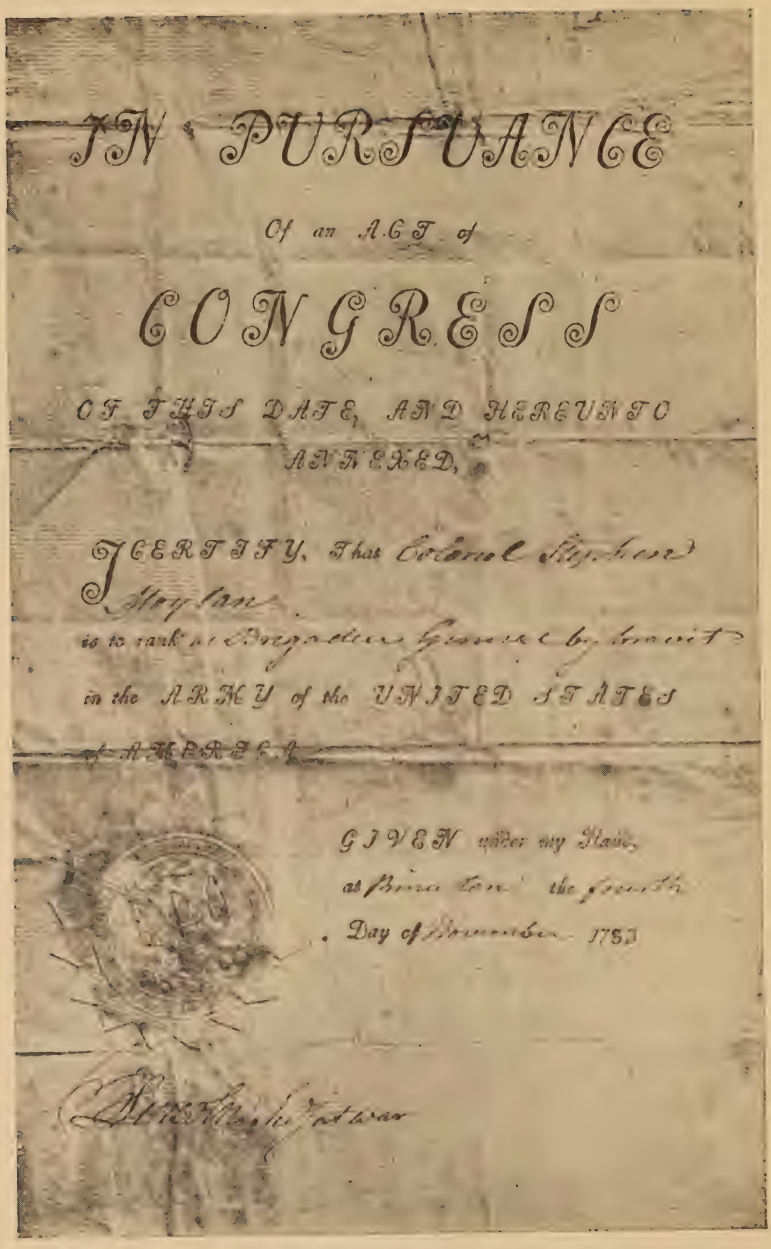
How did they get there? Why?

Though Sullivan and Carberry had escaped, the other officers concerned were Court-martialed but acquitted. Several of the soldiers were convicted and sentenced to death but when ready for execution were reprieved.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

On November 3, 1783, Congress *Resolved* that Colonel Stephen Moylan be promoted to the rank of Brigadier by brevet.

The Roster of "Moylan's Dragoons" at this time may be read in *Pennsylvania in the Revolution,* Vol. II, p. 140.


IN PURSUANCE

Of an ACT of

CONGRESS

OF THIS DATE, AND HEREUNTO ANNEXED,

I CERTIFY, That Colonel Stephen Moylan is to rank as Brigadier General by brevet in the ARMY of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

GIVEN under my Hand, at Princeton the fourth Day of November 1783

By His Excellency's Command

GENERAL MOYLAN'S COMMISSION

VISITS GENERAL WASHINGTON.

In the *Washington Manuscripts* in the Library of Congress is a letter from General Moylan, dated Alexandria, May 16, 1785, saying:

"On looking over the money you favored me with, I found a quarter of a dollar over, which Col. FitzGerald will be kind enough to return to you.

"Permit me to return you my sincere thanks for the polite attentions which Mrs. Moylan and myself received from you & your good Lady during our agreeable sojourn at Mount Vernon. You may be assured it will be long remembered with pleasure."

In 1792 General Moylan was a resident of Goshen Township, Chester County, Pa., on a farm near West Chester.

On April 7, 1792, he was appointed Register and Recorder of Chester County to succeed Persifer Frazier, deceased. He held these offices until December 13, 1793, when he was succeeded by Colonel John Hannum.

On March 20, 1793, Colonel Hannum gave ground upon which St. Agnes's Church, West Chester, is built. General Moylan of Goshen Township was one of the Trustees of the church.

MAJOR-GENERAL OF MILITIA.

In May, 1793, Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania appointed General Moylan "Major-General of the Division composed of Chester and Delaware Counties." He accepted it at West Chester, May 25th, "with more pleasure as it is a further mark of your friendly attention to me," he wrote the Governor.

OFFERED THE MARSHALSHIP.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State under President Washington, sent the following communication to General Moylan:

PHILADELPHIA, September 13, 1793.

SIR:—

The President, on his departure, left in my hands a commission for a Marshal of this district with a blank for the name to be inserted. It was his wish that your's should be inserted if you should think the office would suit you. I must ask the favor of you to say whether you would accept of the commission, and to do it in a letter to Mr. Benjamin Bankson at my office, as I set out for Vir-

ginia within two or three days. Should you decline it I must still ask you to notify it to him, that he may proceed to follow the instructions given him in that case. The office will be vacant on the 20th inst. by the resignation of Col. Biddle, and I can with truth express the satisfaction it would give me personally to have it filled again by a person to whose merits I am less a stranger than to his person. I am with great respect, Sir

Your most obedt. servt.,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Genl. Moylan.

[*Jefferson Papers,* Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 378.]

Mr. Bankson, on September 24th, wrote Moylan:

Not hearing from you am fearful lest the letter may have miscarried. I have therefore judged it expedient to forward this by an Express, as it is of importance that your acceptance or non-acceptance should be known as soon as possible. Please advise me of this by the return of the Express. [*Ibid,* 388.]

[*Jefferson Papers,* Series 1, Vol. V, p. 388.]

General Moylan must have declined but no "letter of declination" is to be found in the Department of State. David Lenox was later offered the position. [*Ibid,* 389.]

On December 3d President Washington appointed General Moylan Commissioner of Loans.

HIS COMMISSION.

This is a copy of the Commission of General Moylan:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
December 9, 1793.

SIR:—

The President of the United States having been pleased to appoint you to the office of Commissioner of Loans in the State of Pennsylvania, you will herewith receive your Commission. I request that you will as speedily as possible enter upon the execution of the office.

I am, Sir, with esteem, Your obedient Servant,

A. HAMILTON.

THE LAST PRESIDENT OF THE FRIENDLY SONS.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1796, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia met at the house of Samuel Richardet. Twenty members were present. "General Stephen Moylan was unanimously elected President and Thomas FitzSimons, Esq., was elected Vice-President," is the record and the last known Minute of the Society. But that the Friendly Sons continued to exist is proven by the will of Michael Morgan O'Brien, made September 2, 1803, wherein he bequeathed to his nephew, James Roland, residing on the Island of Dominica in the West Indies a "gold medal which was struck for the members of a Society known by the name of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of which Society General Moylan is President for the present year."

When the Society became extinct is not known. Its heir and successor by merging and possession of the original records of the Society is "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland." It was organized in 1793 under the title of The Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland, but a few years ago altered its title to the present. It preserves the best traditions of the old Society and amply fulfills the mission of its own foundation, the relief of needy emigrants from Ireland. While its quarterly meetings maintain that spirit of fellowship the foundation of the organization of 1771 whereby those of Irish birth or descent, irrespective of political or religious beliefs unite in good will and with brotherly regard for each other, welded into "one harmonious whole," to uphold the honor of the Race and to perpetuate the memory of all of the old land who have been helpful in the material or social building of our State and Nation. May it continue so to do.

MOYLAN'S RESIDENCE AND OFFICE.

In 1796 General Moylan moved to Northeast Corner of Fourth and Walnut. It had been occupied by Mrs. Payne, with whom James Madison, while a Representative in Congress from Virginia, had lodged. He married Dolly, the daughter of his landlady and so seems to have become manager of the property. It was by him leased to General Moylan who, as tenant, made repairs, deducting expense from rental, to which Mr. Madison objected.

On May 9, 1796 General Moylan wrote Mr. Madison that "the

HOME AND OFFICE OF GENERAL MOYLAN, 1796-1810

room now occupied as an office has undergone no alteration" and if "applied to any other purpose it would need repairs."

HORACE BINNEY.

In a deposition made in 1860, Horace Binney, the distinguished Philadelphia lawyer, declared:

"In the spring of the year 1806 I began to occupy a house on the south side of Walnut St., the first door east of Fourth St. At that time Colonel Stephen Moylan lived nearly opposite to my residence at the North East corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets. He was then Commissioner of Loans of the United States and kept his office in the same house and was frequently called General Moylan. I knew him pretty well."

DEATH OF GENERAL MOYLAN.

On April 13, 1811, General Moylan died. He was buried the next day. The *American Daily Advertiser* of Tuesday, April 16, 1811, had this obituary:

"Died on Saturday morning last, in the 74th year of his age, after a lingering illness, General Stephen Moylan of this City, Commissioner of Loans for the City of Philadelphia. He served with distinction in the American army during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and few of his illustrious associates enjoyed a larger share of the favor and friendship of the Commander-in-Chief, than which a more decisive proof could not be adduced of the elevation of his character and the merit of his services. General Moylan displayed, uniformly, in his domestic and social relations those virtues of the heart which shed most lustre and happiness over private life. The singular tenderness of his nature, the active benevolence of his feelings, the candour and uprightness and generosity of his disposition, the mildness and urbanity of his manners, attached to him by the strongest ties of affection and respect not only the members of his own family, but all those who formed the numerous circle of his friends. His remains were on Sunday interred in the burial ground of the Catholic Church of St. Mary's, and attended by his brethren of the Cincinnati and the body of his private relatives and particular acquaintances."

General Moylan's death has heretofore been stated as of April 11th, and such is the record at the Treasury Department at Washington. But by the *Advertiser's* obituary it will be seen that "Saturday last" was April 13th.

He made no will. His estate, valued at $800, was administered to by his half-brother, Jasper Moylan [*Adm. Book K*, p. 424] to whom letters of Administration were given May 11th, Jared Ingersoll and John Hallowell, Counsellors-at-Law, being the sureties.

Though General Moylan was buried in St. Mary's graveyard, the location of his grave is not known even to his descendants. The compiler in 1876 gave special attention to the quest but without satisfactory results. The General's daughter was then alive and a resident of Baltimore. On interview with her by Mr. Patrick Moylan a resident of that city, but not a relation, Mrs. Lansdale stated that a head and footstone had been erected at the General's grave but the stones had been removed when a general order for the removal of all stones had been given. There is an error about the removal of all stones, as many stones yet standing show. Whether so marked or not the grave is not now known.

Until 1810 General Moylan lived at Northeast Corner of Fourth and Walnut. In that year he moved to No. 230 [now 618] Spruce Street where he died, April 13, 1811.

The Public Ledger of Philadelphia, August 16, 1908, gave an illustration of the house, saying: "The dwelling having been modernized looks very little like the house in which the soldier died. The principal difference is to be found in the entrance. Originally there was what was regarded as an ornate doorway of wood. The eaves and cornice bore traces of the colonial adaptation of the Greek ornamentation." The house was newly built and General Moylan, most probably, was its first occupant. The *Ledger* continues:

"The war history of General Moylan was not so dramatic or spectacular as that of some of the more popular heroes, but he was regarded as one of the officers upon whom reliance could be put, both as a man and as a soldier."

A writer in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, July, 1861, said: "General Moylan was emphatically a gentleman of the old school; he was remarkable for his hospitality. Having two daughters, one of whom was very fascinating, his house attracted many young persons."

There is no known portrait of General Moylan. Family tradition is that one was in the Peale Museum when destroyed by fire.

Previous to 1860 a claim for money due General Moylan by the Government was presented in several Sessions of Congress.

A Bill to reimburse his heirs passed one House more than once but never both. Finally the effort was abandoned.

John Pope Hodnett in speech before Senate Committee on Labor and Education, May 1886, said:

> "There goes Moylan on his prancing steed,
> Always ready whenever the need;
> With his prancing chargers and his green plume,
> Driving the enemy to eternal doom."

Poets are not Historians. Moylan did not wear "a green plume."

Moylan, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, is named in honor of the General.

Such is a compact and yet very complete recital of the career of General Stephen Moylan, Washington's friend and compatriot who sacrificed all for his country. To those of his race and Faith the record herewith presented, mainly from official sources, is commended as an inspirative source for presenting him in spirit-arousing sentiments to American citizens, little aware of the extent and import of the services of this Irish and Catholic native of Cork in old and famed Ireland, which has given to our Country so many of its illustrious men.

That but his name is known to his own is a discredit which it is hoped this account of his career will remove. His services were most helpful in winning the Liberty and Independence of our Country.

The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia might well erect a memorial of so illustrious an American as the first and last President of the original Society.

It is an obligation of paramount importance that acknowledgment be recorded of the aid given to the compiler by Mr. Charles H. Walsh of Washington, D. C., a great-grandson of Jasper Moylan. The copies of great bulk of the documents used in this work which are now in the Library of Congress were given us by Mr. Walsh.

To General Moylan's great-grandson, J. Moylan Lansdale, Esq., of Philadelphia, our appreciation of his help is also freely acknowledged.

COLONEL JOHN FITZGERALD, AIDE-DE-CAMP AND SECRETARY TO WASHINGTON.

One of the first and, no doubt, the most prominent in a public capacity, of the early Catholic settlers of Alexandria, Virginia, at a time Catholicity was not, by the law of that Colony, even tolerated and its members much less enjoying liberty of public worship, was John Fitzgerald, a young Irishman who settled in that town in 1769 or 1770. He must have been one of culture, refinement and of education as well as possessing means enabling him to enter into mercantile life and also to be permitted to enter the social circle, however limited it may have been, in that important Virginia port and town. So in youthful manhood he had the reputation of being one of the rising business men and a favorite, even in the social life of the town.

It shows social import and intelligence to have, so early, made the acquaintance of Colonel George Washington of Mount Vernon, who after his service in the French and Indian War and his co-operation with others against the Stamp Act and other unjustifiable actions of the British ministry, had settled down to the peaceful life of a Virginia planter.

He was in 1770, December 1st, elected Burgess. In honor of it he gave a ball where he records he "remained all night." It is related that it was at this ball young Fitzgerald made his entry into the social life of the tobacco exporting port and that there he first met Washington, though it is not believed that any intimacy resulted from this first association. It is stated that "Fitzgerald, young, genial and fine looking," became "quite a favorite with the English maidens and Scotch lassies who made Alexandria even then true to its original name of Belle Haven." But when it came to marriage the Catholic maiden, Miss Jane Digges, daughter of Dr. Digges, of Warburton Manor, in Maryland, opposite Mount Vernon, was his selection. [Carne: *Catholic World,* Jan., 1890.]

Fitzgerald joined the Fairfax Independent Company, composed of the young gentlemen of that section. While Washington was in Philadelphia attending the first Continental Congress, a Committee of the Independent Company, John Fitzgerald, William Ramsay and Robert H. Harrison, wrote him October 19, 1774, "to make inquiries with regard to furnishing the Company with a pair of Colours, two drums, two fifes and two halberts if they are to be

had in Philadelphia." [*Letters to Washington,* Vol. V, p. 57: By Col. Dames, 1902.]

When the Revolutionary War came on young Fitzgerald joined the forces of Washington at Cambridge, Massachusetts, as Aide-de-Camp to the General. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, on St. Patrick's Day, 1776, Washington's army pursued the enemy on towards New York. Fitzgerald at this time while not, officially, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, at times acted as such. One occasion of so serving is on record on the ever memorable day—July 4th, 1776—when Washington, at New York, by the hand of Fitzgerald wrote to Congress sending a list of officers recommended to serve in the Rifle Battalion.

In November the same year Fitzgerald was appointed one of the Secretaries of Washington.

It may here be noted that a fellow-Catholic, Stephen Moylan, of Philadelphia, had, on March 5, 1776, been appointed Secretary to the General, who, thus, in the memorable year of Independence, had two Catholics, born in Ireland, as his Aides and as Secretaries.

Their worthiness may be judged by Washington's letter to Congress on April 23, 1776, in which he stated:

"Aids-de-Camp are persons in whom entire confidence must be placed; it requires men of abilities to execute the duties with propriety and despatch, where there is a multiplicity of business as must attend the Commander-in-Chief of such an army as this and persuaded, as I am, that nothing but the zeal of those gentlemen who live with me and act in this capacity, for the great American cause and personal attachment to me, have induced them to undergo the trouble and confinement they have experienced since they became members of my family. I give in to no amusements myself and consequently those about me can have none, but are confined from morning till evening, hearing and answering the applications and letters of one and another which will now, I expect, receive a considerable addition. If these gentlemen had the same relaxation from duty as other officers have in their common routine, there would not be so much in it. But to have the mind always on the stretch, scarce ever unbent, and no hours for recreation, makes a material odds. Knowing this, and at the same time how inadequate the pay is, I can scarce find inclination to impose the necessary duties of their office on them. . . . It is not to be wondered at, if there should be found a promptness in them

to seek preferment, or in me to do justice to them by facilitating their views; by which means I must lose their aid, when they have it most in their power to assist me." [Spark's *Writing Wash.*, III, p. 368-9-70.]

The pay was $33 a month. It was raised to $40. The rank was Lieutenant-Colonel.

A reference to some of the letters written by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald will indicate the scene, extent and value of his services:

On December 18, 1776, General Knox presented to Washington a plan for establishing a Corps of Continental Artillery, magazines, laboratories, etc. It was written by Colonel Fitzgerald and by Washington was sent to Congress on the 20th.

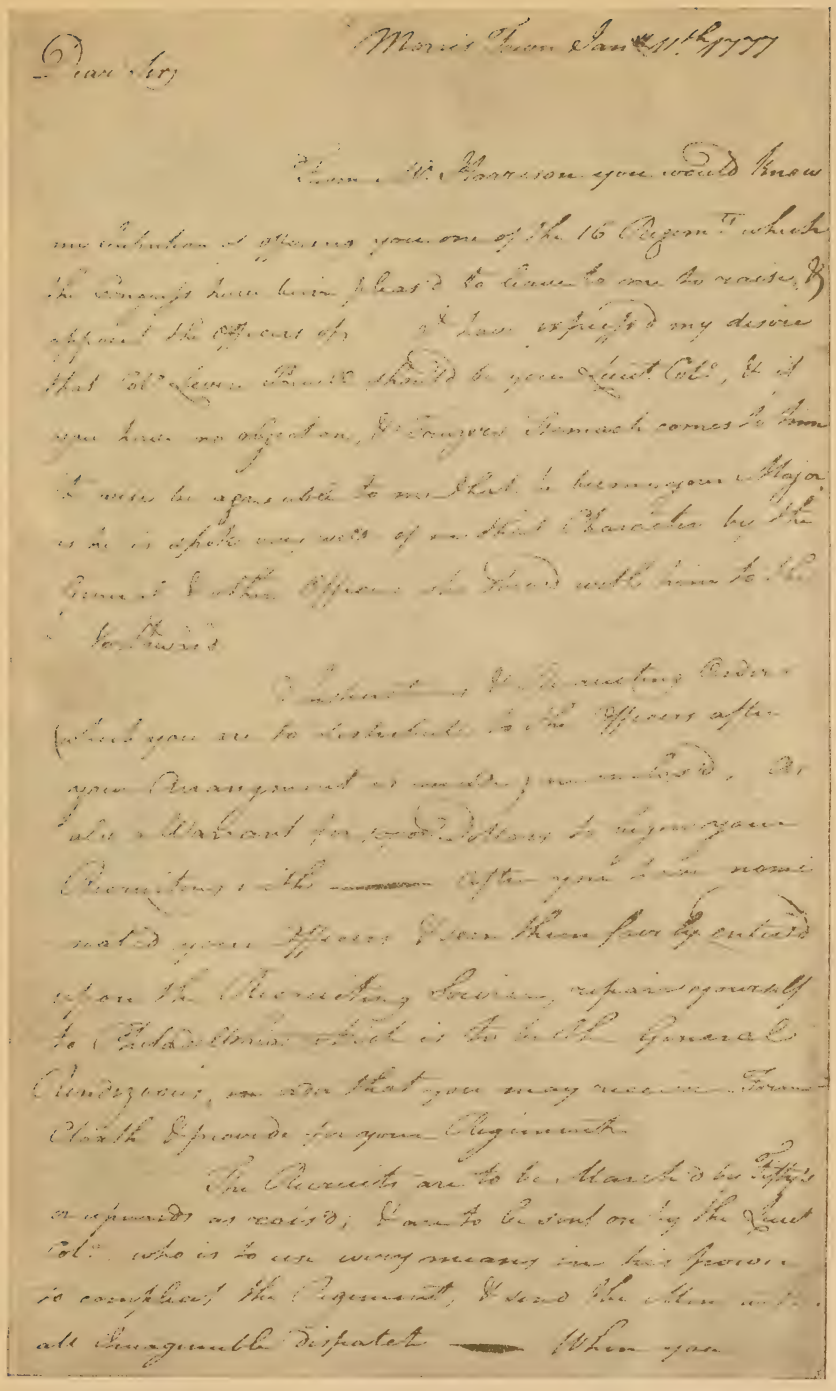
On January 11, 1777, Fitzgerald wrote for Washington to William Grayson, who had been his Assistant Secretary, offering him a command. A fac-simile of this letter is herewith shown from the original draft in the Library of Congress, *Washington's Papers.*

On February 6, 1777, the army was at Morristown, New Jersey, Washington wrote the Committee of Congress requesting money for recruiting Colonel Stephen Moylan's regiment of Dragoons.

On April 27, 1777, General Benedict Arnold, from West Redding, Connecticut, wrote General Alexander McDougal, then at Peekskill, New York, an account of the affair at Danbury, Connecticut. This was sent General Washington who had copy made by Fitzgerald and sent to Congress in letter sent by Washington on April 30th.

On June 15, 1777, General Philip John Schuyler, from Saratoga, New York, wrote Washington, then at Middlebrook, New Jersey, sending intelligence of a prisoner as to the British in Canada. A copy made by Fitzgerald was sent Congress on the 15th. This was also done on 25th when Matthew Williamson, Jr., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, sent Washington, then at Middlebrook, intelligence of the enemy.

July 9th, Joseph Trumbull, of Morristown, informed Washington of difficulties in the Commissary Department under Congress' new rules. That day Washington sent Fitzgerald's copy to Congress.



HANDWRITING OF COL. JOHN FITZGERALD WHEN SECRETARY TO WASHINGTON

July 16th, Washington, from Smith's Cove, New Jersey, wrote to Board of War at Philadelphia notifying the lack of arms.

July 22, 1777, General Schuyler informed Washington of the evacuation of Ticonderoga by the British and the weak state of his own army, lacking everything.

In July, 1777, when Washington's army was on its way southward to meet the British in their projected capture of Philadelphia by landing at Head of Elk, Maryland, and coming northward, Colonel Fitzgerald wrote from "Headquarters near Thompson's Tavern, Pa.," to Major-General John Sullivan: "By order of his Excellency to inform him that the army is to retrace its march to the Reading road beyond the Trapp [a village 25 miles from Philadelphia]; orders him to move on a line between it and the Schuylkill; Brigadier-Generals William Maxwell and James Potter will join him; orders that he light fires that the march may be unexpected; and that he notify Colonel Stephen Moylan to move in concert; requests him to send Major Jamison and a few horse into Philadelphia to assist Colonel Hamilton." [*Washington MSS.*]

July 31st, Washington at Coryell's Ferry notifies Congress of the march of the enemy to Philadelphia.

August 6, 1777, Washington appointed General Lachlan McIntosh to a brigade and so informed George Walton of Philadelphia.

August 16th, Washington, then at Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pa., sent Congress copy of letter received from Governor George Clinton, a letter giving the situation in the North; the New York Militia and that promises but no troops came from New England.

November 10th, Washington at Neshaminy sent Congress the proceedings of the Board of General Officers on settlement of rank of Pennsylvania field officer held August 19th.

August 21st, 1777, Washington at Neshaminy wrote Congress introducing Count Casimir Pulaski.

August 25th, Washington sent Congress a copy of the letter of Henry Hollingsworth of the Head of Elk, Maryland, to General John McKinley, informing of the landing of the British, and on 31st he sent copy of report of David Hopkins of the same place reporting the movements of the enemy.

September 13th, Washington, at Falls of Schuylkill above Philadelphia, reported to Congress the construction of redoubts; the conduct of General Prudhomme de Borré.

December 30, 1777, Washington at Valley Forge to General Thomas Conway relative to his duties as Inspector-General. Copy sent Congress January 2, 1778.

February 21, 1778, Sir William Howe, the British Commander at Philadelphia, to Washington at Valley Forge relative to British treatment of prisoners and making accusations against the Americans. Sent copy to Congress March 7th.

August 1, 1778, General John Sullivan at Providence, R. I., to Washington at White Plains, New York, relative to situation in Rhode Island.

October 8, 1778, Otis & Andrews, Boston, to Richard Peters at Philadelphia relative to clothing supplies. Washington sent to Congress on 11th.

February 4, 1780, William Hath of Highlands, New York, informed Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, relative to the surprise at Young's Farm. Sent to Congress February 14th.

April 20, 1782, Washington sent Congress copies of deposition respecting the appearance of the corpse of Philip White, of Monmouth County.

These letters and others intervening, made by Colonel Fitzgerald for the Commander-in-Chief, show the character, extent of the services and the location of Fitzgerald at the times stated.

In all the operations of the army Colonel Fitzgerald from 1776 to 1782, save occasional leaves of absence and then for military purposes, is found constantly by the side of Washington especially in action. Nor does he appear among those who with "promptness seek preferment" because of hard duty and inadequate pay, but ever one constant and faithful in devotion to his adopted country and with fidelity and affection for the Commander-in-Chief.

When General Lambert Cadwallader was captured by the British at the assault on Fort Washington, November, 1776, General Prescott of the British army was then a prisoner with the Americans. He applied to General Howe in behalf of General Cadwallader, "from a high sense of the civilities shown by Cadwallader to his father." He procured his "liberty without parole."

Later it was questioned whether Cadwallader might return to the army unless "exchanged." He wrote Washington from Philadelphia, October 7, 1778: "Sir William Erskine's opinion given to Colonel Fitzgerald at Brunswick after the battle of Princeton was that I was perfectly free to take an active part without ex-

change. However Cadwallader notified Washington that he would not do so until exchanged." [*Corres. Rev.*, II, 220.]

While Washington's army was encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, in the Lowantica Valley, after the victories of Trenton and Princeton, Colonel Fitzgerald, on March 29, 1777, opened correspondence with his fellow-Catholic and Patriot, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

MORRISTOWN, March 29, 1777.

Dear Sir:—Give me leave to communicate the following piece of intelligence to you which this day we have from Boston, so well authenticated as not to admit of the least doubt:

"On the 18th inst. arrived at Portsmouth an armed vessel of 14 guns from France; her cargo consists of twelve thousand stand of arms, one thousand barrels of powder, flints, guns for the frigate there, woolens, linens, etc. She has been out 42 days. A fifty-gun ship sailed at the same time and from the same place for this port. She is richly laden with heavy artillery and military stores. Two very valuable prizes are now riding in this harbour, both from London. Their cargoes are the woolens, linens and summer clothing to a great amount. I had almost forgot to tell you that the Court of France has remonstrated against any more foreigners being sent to America and that upon Doctor Franklin's arrival they demonstrated their joy by bonfires, etc. Another letter says that a General, a Colonel and a Major all strongly recommended by Dr. Franklin are come in this vessel.

"This news, I am sure, will be very agreeable to you and every other gentleman so strongly attached and deeply interested in this dispute. I therefore sincerely congratulate you thereon, and hope you'll pardon the liberty on my side of beginning a correspondence with you. The public prints will inform you nearly as much of our situation here as I am at liberty to mention. The General is quite recovered from his late indisposition.

"Dear Sir,

"Your Obedient, humble servant,

"JOHN FITZGERALD."

[From Rowland's *Life Carroll*, I, 201.]

[Original in Md. His. Soc.]

We learn the whereabouts of Colonel Fitzgerald from the annexed letter, the original of which is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and a copy in the Maryland Historical Society. It is printed in Rowland's *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton,* Vol. I, p. 213.

On August 22, 1777, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, wrote Governor Johnston, of Maryland:

"I received yesterday evening a letter from Col. Fitzgerald dated Bucks Co., twenty miles from Philadelphia, the 19th inst. The following are extracts from his letter: 'General Howe's not attempting to force his way to the city was displeasing to both Whig and Tory; our army prayed most religiously for it, and even the private man appeared individually concerned in defence of it. It is now a month since General Howe sailed from Sandy Hook, and as yet we are unable to determine the place of his destination, having had no account of him since he was seen off Sinepresent. The general opinion now prevailing is that Charlestown is the object of his present views, in which case as it will be impossible for this army to follow him there, its operations will be turned against Burgoyne, and I have no doubt will (if it can come up with him) effectually secure the continent against any future incursions from him.

"'Gates, Lincoln and Arnold are arrived at Albany; reinforcements have been lately sent to them, Morgan's riflemen among the rest, which I am satisfied will be a match for them in their own way. Some troops we have at Fort Schuyler up the Mohawk River, assisted by the militia of Tryon County, have lately had two skirmishes with a party of the enemy there, in both of which they behaved with great bravery and gained some considerable advantage over them. General Clinton remains on York Island, and from the best accounts we can get has not 3,000 effective men with him, most of them Hessians. They are building redoubts and breastworks all along Harlem River, and appear very apprehensive of a visit from us. We have had no answer to the proposal for the exchange of General Lee for Prescott and I am doubtful it will not take place."

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, June 18, 1778, Washington moved his army from Valley Forge to intercept and strike the enemy on their way to New York.

The Battle of Monmouth took place the hot Sunday afternoon, June 28th, when General Charles Lee, second in command, proved unfaithful. He had opposed the plan adopted at Council held at Hopewell on 24th. So Lafayette applied to Lee to be allowed to command the detachment under his orders. Lee assented but next day reconsidered his declination and resumed command the day before the battle.

In the battle Lee retreated contrary to orders and in such a manner as to threaten the most serious consequences to the army. This being discovered by Washington he rode to Lee, reprimanded him in severe tones and is said even to have sworn with an oath. Lee was court-martialed, found guilty of "disobedience of orders; misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief." He was suspended from command for one year. Congress approved of the sentence. Lee never resumed command. He is now regarded as a traitor for having, when a prisoner in New York, supplied the British with the plan of capture of Philadelphia, upon which they successfully acted.

[See *Mr. Lee's Plan* by Moore.]

It was at this critical moment in the Battle at Yorktown, when Mercer's brigade was being routed and pursued by the British, that Washington exposed himself to the terrible fire, in the very front of his men, and urged them to hold their ground steadily. He succeeded in rallying the shattered force.

The sight of Washington exposing himself between the two armies gave new courage to the weary troops. This exposure seemed dangerous to Washington's gallant aid, Lieutenant-Colonel John Fitzgerald, who expecting every moment to see a bullet pierce the heart of his Commander, endeavored to avoid the appalling sight. A moment later a shout greeted Washington's brave act, and Fitzgerald looked to see his General coming unsullied from the smoke of battle and to hear himself calmly addressed: "Bring up the troops; the day is ours." [Stryker's *Trenton and Princeton*, p. 286.]

It was Colonel Mawhood's British force that at first routed Mercer's troops.

"Everything was in peril. Putting spurs to his horse Washington dashed past the hesitating militia, waving his hat and cheering them on. His commanding figure and white horse made him a conspicuous object for the enemy's marksmen, but he heeded it not. Galloping forward he called upon Mercer's brigade of Philadelphia militia, who rallied at the sound of his voice and caught fire from his example." [Irving.]

It was at this critical moment of the retreat of Mercer's men and when Washington was rallying the stricken force that it is related that John Mullowney, a Philadelphia Catholic boy, a drummer with the Philadelphia militia, "pounded out Yankee Doodle" with so much spirit and force that the waning courage of the soldiers revived and forced the British to retreat. [*Am. His. Register,* February, 1895, p. 515.]

He afterwards became an officer of the Navy under Commodore John Barry and in June, 1799, was given command of the "Montezuma Banner" of Barry's West India fleet. He was then in Maryland settling his father's estate. He was appointed by President Monroe Consul to Tangier and died there. He owned land in Philadelphia and Montgomery Counties and at Pottsville. The town of St. Clair, Pa., is located on land owned by Mullowney. Perhaps he was a fifer and not a drummer of whom George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of the General, relates in his *Recollections* as meeting Generals Washington and Knox, to whom he called out:

"They are all coming this way."

"Who are coming, my little man?" asked Knox.

"Why our boys; your honor, our boys and the British right after them," replied the fifer.

"Impossible!" cried Washington who, spurring his charger, proceeded to an eminence a short distance ahead. There he discovered the boy's intelligence was too true.

Colonel Fitzgerald brought to Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon, and to his fellow-citizens of Alexandria, the news and details of the battles of Trenton and of Princeton, and remained at home a while, engaged in forwarding recruits and supplies. While he was at Alexandria an event occurred which illustrates his character. It is thus told in Jansen's *Stranger in America:*

"Three small British armed ships sailed up the Potomac as far as Alexandria, and consequently passed Mount Vernon. They did considerable damage in their progress, but the commanders gave strict orders not to molest Mount Vernon, and, to their honor, it was not molested. Their arrival at Alexandria threw the people in a dreadful state of alarm, the seat of war being far removed from that place. They mustered in haste to the market-place, under command of Colonel John Fitzgerald, one of Washington's aides-de-camp, who happened to be there on leave of absence, with his family residing there. These ships displayed an intention of landing, and Fitzgerald, leaving the command to a militia colonel, proceeded at the head of several of the citizens to Jones Point (now the extreme south point of the Federal District) to repel the invaders. Soon after the departure of this party the ships fired a few shots at the town, upon which the commander of the militia ordered the colors to be struck, but for his pusillanimity was chastised upon the spot." [Carne; *Catholic World,* Jan., 1890.]

COLONEL JOHN FITZGERALD A WITNESS AGAINST GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

When the Board of War of Pennsylvania had General Arnold court-martialed, President Joseph Reed wrote to Washington, April 24, 1779, that fixing May 1st as time of trial was too short to give notices to witnesses.

"Col. Fitzgerald who is also a material Witness, we suppose is in Virginia." [*Pa. Archives,* Vol. VII, p. 328.]

Colonel Fitzgerald, however, was present on May 6th, as the annexed notification by Timothy Matlack, Secretary of the Council, to General Arnold attests:

Sir,

His Excellency, the President, & the Hn'ble Council, order me to inform you that Colonel John Fitzgerald, late Aid du Camp to His Excellency, General Washington, has been requested to give a deposition of his knowledge respecting instructions given by you to Major David S. Franks, one of your aids, to purchase in the City of Philadelphia, European and East India goods, to any amount, for the payment whereof you would furnish him with money, and directing him not to communicate the same even to his most intimate friends. Coll. Fitzgerald will for this purpose attend at the House of Plunket Fleeson, Esqr, to-morrow morning at ten o'clock. This

notice is given to afford you an opportunity to attend his examination, if you think proper, either by yourself or your attorney.

Coll. Fitzgerald having desired his compliments may be presented to Genl. Arnold, with an intimation of the nature of the testimony he is about to give, induces me to mention generally the nature of his evidence.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

T. M., Sec'y.

Philada., May 5, 1779.

To Major Gen. Arnold.

[*Pa. Archives,* Vol. VII, p. 370.]

At the trial for use of public money and wagons to his personal benefit Arnold was found guilty and sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington. It is thought that this rankled in his heart and led to his solicitation for command at West Point so he might betray it into the hands of the enemy.

THE CONWAY CABAL.

General Thomas Conway came from France to serve in Washington's army. He was an Irishman. General Horatio Gates won the battle of Saratoga and compelled the surrender of Burgoyne. This made him a hero. Intrigues went on to supersede Washington and place Gates in command of the army. Conway was hostile to Washington. When he sought, in November, 1777, to resign, Congress refused to accept the resignation and a month later elected him Inspector-General with the rank of Major-General. Congress too was not friendly to Washington, as that action was taken as proof.

Washington had several outspoken enemies in Congress, James Lovell of Massachusetts wrote Gates, November 17, 1777, threatening Washington "with the mighty torrent of public clamor and vengeance," and adding, "How different your conduct and fortune; this army will be totally lost unless you come down and

collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." Another time he wrote: "What a situation we are in! How different from what might justly be expected."

Conway, it was alleged, had written to Gates: "Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak General and bad counsellors would have ruined it."

Washington simply copied the words and sent to Conway, saying: "A letter I received contained the following paragraph."

The version which Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, an enemy of Washington's, sent anonymously to Patrick Henry, read: "A great and good God hath decreed America to be free or the General and weak counsellors would have ruined her long ago." [Reed's *President Reed,* 2d Ed., 1867, p. 65.]

Colonel Wilkinson of Gates' staff met Lord [General] Stirling at Reading, Pa., and informed Major McWilliams, his aide-de-camp, of what Conway had written. General [Lord] Stirling informed Washington and sent him the statement above.

Another version is given below. Perhaps there were several letters of like import, all designed to lessen Washington in the esteem of others so as to have Gates made Commander-in-Chief.

Sparks' *Life of Washington* says: "The genuineness of the extract was denied but the letter itself was never produced. Two or three persons afterwards saw it in confidence, among whom was Mr. Laurens, President of Congress." [I, 269.]

It was Colonel John Fitzgerald who obtained from President Laurens the extract he had taken from the letter of Conway to Gates, which he sent to Washington with this letter:

"York Town [Pa.], February 16, 1778.

"*Dear Sir*:—I make no doubt but you will be surprised to have a letter of this date from me at this place. I was detained nine days on the other side of the Susquehanna for an opportunity of crossing it, and when I did it was not without great difficulty and some danger. Upon my arrival here, on Saturday afternoon, I waited upon Mr. Laurens, who then being much engaged asked me to breakfast next morning, giving me to understand that he had something of consequence to say to me. In the morning he asked me if you had ever seen the much-talked-of letter from General Conway to General Gates. I answered I was certain that you never

had, unless since my departure from camp. He then said it was now in the hands of Mr. Roberdeau, who to his knowledge showed it to some, and, he had reason to believe, to a great many, and that though the paragraph quoted by Colonel Wilkenson was not set down *verbatim,* yet in substance it contained that and ten times more. Upon this I determined to demand it from Mr. Roberdeau, in order to let you have a copy of it. I waited on him this morning, when, after a short introduction, I let him into the intention of my visit. He assured me he had shown the letter only to the President and no other, and gave me his honor that he had delivered it to a French gentleman by an order from General Conway, which was sent back after he had crossed the Susquehanna. He was full of his assurance that the letter did not contain the paragraph alluded to, which gave him infinite satisfaction, as he entertained the highest respect both for you and for General Gates. He added, however, that had the letter remained in his possession he should not have thought himself at liberty to let a copy be taken without the consent of the gentleman who entrusted him with it. I told him as he had pledged his honor about the delivery of it, I thought it unnecessary to say any more upon the subject, but that I should have thought it my duty to take the most effectual measures of procuring a copy had the original remained in his hands. I then returned to Mr. Laurens, who gave me an extract he had taken from it, which I take the liberty of enclosing to you. The whole of that letter, I understand, was couched in terms of the most bitter invective, of which this is a small sample. I enclose you this extract rather for your information than with expectation of its answering any other purpose at this time. I am of opinion that the gentlemen who have been most active in this business are by this time heartily sick of it, and plainly perceive that the fabric which they were endeavoring to rear was likely to fall upon their own heads. Mr. Laurens' sentiments upon the whole of this matter were exceedingly just, and delivered with the greatest candor.

"I am, &c.,

"JOHN FITZGERALD."

The extract from General Conway's letter to General Gates given Fitzgerald by President Laurens which he sent to Washington was in these words:

"What a pity there is but one Gates! But the more I see of

this army, the less I think it fit for general action under its actual chiefs and actual discipline. I speak to you sincerely and freely and wish I could serve under you."

To Colonel Fitzgerald's letter Washington replied:

VALLEY FORGE, Feb. 28, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

This instant, returning from the Committee, and finding the post here, you must put up with a line or two in acknowledgment of your favor of the 16th last., from York, instead of a long letter, which it was my intention to have written you.

I thank you sincerely for the part you acted at York respecting C——y after——and believe with you that matters have and will turn out different to what that party expected. G——s has involved himself in his letters to me in the most absurd contradictions, M—— has brought himself into a scrape, that he does not know how to get out of, with a gentlemen of this State, and C——, as you know, is sent upon an expedition which all the world knew, and the event has proved, was not practicable. In a word, I have good deal of reason to believe that the machination of this junta will recoil upon their own heads, and be a means of bringing some matters to light, which by getting me out of the way, some of them thought to conceal.

Remember me in the most affectionate terms to all my old friends and acquaintances in Alexandria, and be assured that with unfeigned regard, I am dear sir, your affectionate friend,

GO. WASHINGTON.

[The blanks in the above letter are to be filled as follows: G——s, Gates; C——y, Conway; M——, Mifflin.]

This letter was exhibited at a meeting of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, by Dr. James Dudley Morgan, a great grand-nephew of Colonel Fitzgerald, as was the late Rev. J. A. Morgan, S.J., of Washington, D. C., formerly pastor of Old St. Joseph's, Philadelphia.

Dr. Morgan explained that Washington undoubtedly referred in his letter to the schemes of Generals Gates, Conway and Mifflin, a trio of Revolutionary heroes whom Washington suspected to have formed a cabal to depose him from the command of the army.

Everybody present enjoyed the sensation that Washington's

letter created. Librarian Spofford simply gloated over it, and among the others who read and re-read the age-stained manuscript were the venerable Rev. Dr. Sunderland, Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage, Hon. John Kasson, and Dr. J. M. Toner, President of the Society.

The one to whom the letter was written was a Catholic. The possessor of it and the President of the Society at which it was made public were Catholics.

To this Colonel Fitzgerald replied from his home in Alexandria:

"ALEXANDRIA, March 17, 1778.

"SIR:

"I am honoured with your kind favour of the 28th ult., which I received by last Sunday's Post. It gives me the most pleasing satisfaction to find that those who were endeavoring to injure you in the Public esteem, are becoming sensible of their own insignificance. I earnestly hope they may feel the contempt and scorn of all good men in proportion to the Iniquitous scheme which they expected to accomplish.

"Whatever expectations some Individuals in Congress might have formed from joining with this Junto, I am persuaded that a very great majority even of the present members are warmly attach'd to you, and, notwithstanding their inconsistent conduct respecting Gen'l Conway, would firmly oppose any measures which might tend to give you the smallest offence. Mr. C——ll, with whom I stay'd a day on my way here, was very uneasy at a report having prevail'd that a Combination was form'd in Congress against you, and gave me the strongest assurances that he never heard a Member of this House utter a word which could be construed into the least disrespect for you, except once, and then the Gentleman was so warmly replied to from different quarters, that he has since been Silent upon that Head. I thought it too delicate a point to ask who this was, but have some reason to believe it was your friend from this State, whose good intentions you have for some time suspected. Gen'l Greene has suffered much in the Opinion of people, in these parts, I suppose from the misrepresentations of Gen'ls M. and C——y. I have taken every opp'y of doing Justice to the character of that Gentleman, which I have been the more desirous of doing, as I am satisfied with their Malignity has proceeded from the Light in which he was held by you and the confidence you placed in him.

"I understand that the sport of Gaming begins to be prevailing in this and adjacent States. I suppose the officers conclude that the orders of last year are not binding this. Your Excelency will judge whether new orders are necessary to prevent it. I begin to be apprehensive that the Draft of this State will not be Equal to the numbers intended as it appears to me that proper officers are not appointed to collect them and in some Instances men are—[torn] after being drafted without giving a—[torn] in their place, and this I think the greatest absurdity, as any person whose health or situation is such as to warrant an excuse should not have stood the Draft.

"Your friends receive your compliments with the highest sense of Gratitude.

"With the most sincere esteem and respect I have the honour to be Dear Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant,

"JOHN FITZGERALD."

Endorsed in Washington's hand.

"Col. Fitzgerald

"17th March 1778."

Under this in a recent hand is written:

"Was among Gen. Washington's aids de camp of '76. He was a warm hearted, brave and honest Irishman, a merchant of Alexandria before the War. J. A."

"Mr. C——ll" is, evidently, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had been at Valley Forge as one of a committee of Congress.

"Gen'ls M. and C——y refers to Mifflin and Conway."

General Washington was at this time at Valley Forge.

[This letter was, on April 27, 1900, sold at Davis & Harvey's, Philadelphia.]

Washington wrote President Laurens:

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets, which it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents, with which I can make no pretension of rivalship, have

ever been subject to it. My heart tells me that it has been my unremitting aim to do the best that circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error." [Spark's *Writings,* I, 274.]

It is to the imperishable honor of Colonel John Fitzgerald that amid Washington's distresses at Valley Forge, he was resolute in upholding the character and fame of the illustrious General.

Even Conway when wounded in a duel with General Cadwallader in consequence of the affair, and believing himself about to die, wrote Washington in tones of repentance and reparation: "My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of these States whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues."

But Conway recovered and "returned to France, leaving a name which few will envy and an example which no one will be ambitious to imitate, who reflects how soon a crime may be followed by a just retribution." [Spark's, I, 275.]

Let us honor John Fitzgerald that he was an instrument in unearthing the conspiracy against the "great and good" Washington.

After the close of the Revolutionary War, Colonel Fitzgerald maintained, in a marked degree, social and business relations with General Washington. A few illustrations will suffice to show the friendship maintained and the confidence existing on the part of the illustrious Washington with his near-by neighbor of Alexandria—his Catholic aid-de-camp, Colonel John Fitzgerald.

On February 2, 1785, Washington signed eighty-three diplomas of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati and sent them to Colonel Fitzgerald to send to General Williams, the Assistant Secretary of the Society.

The Potomac Company for the purpose of improving the navigation of that river for commercial purposes had been organized. Washington and Fitzgerald were the active spirits in the movement. Washington on the formation of the company was chosen, on May 17, 1785, President, and Colonel Fitzgerald one of the four directors, another of whom was Thomas Simms Lee, Governor of Maryland, who later in life became a Catholic.

On February 9, 1785, Colonel Fitzgerald wrote Washington:

"Our subscription I doubt not will be filled in the limited time. I keep my book in order to have the pleasure of your name at the head of it. If you can conveniently come up to-morrow please favor me with your company at dinner."

On April 18, 1785, Washington went to Alexandria to attend the election of delegates to the Virginia Assembly. His diary records: "Dined at Colonel Fitzgerald's."

In August the President and the directors made a tour of observation of the river as far as Harper's Ferry and Seneca Falls. They returned after ten days.

On September 9th and 26th "Washington went to Alexandria for the purpose of seeing Col. Fitzgerald on business of the Potomac Co."

On November 16th Richard Henry Lee and son, Colonel Fitzgerald and a Mr. Hunter of London visited Washington at Mount Vernon; "came to dinner and stayed all night," notes Washington in his diary.

Colonel Fitzgerald returned to Mount Vernon on December 2, 1785, with Colonel Daniel Macarty and wife, Dr. Baker and others and all dined with Washington.

Richard Henry Lee, signer of the Declaration of Independence, author of the *Resolution of Independence,* wrote him from New York, May 4, 1785:

"We have no news here of any Consequence. The Emperor's Quarrel with the Dutch seems to be quieted, but it is not improbable that a war between him and Prussia will take place. Congress has taken the most effectual steps in their power to quiet the Barbary Pirates, so as to prevent their hostilities on our Commerce."

"HIS NAME IS JEREMIAH MURPHY."

On August 3, 1784, Lund Washington, overseer of Washington's farm, wrote Colonel Fitzgerald:

"I sent a boat up this morning with a note to you desiring that the serv'ts I got yesterday for the Gen'l might be sent and with them the one I got for myself, since then I have thought of sending the bearer for him, that he may be conducted at once to my own farm, pray order him to be delivered to the boy—his name is Jeremiah Murphy (gardener)."

On November 1st, Washington lodged at Colonel Fitzgerald's,

after he had returned "about 11 o'clock that night from the performance"—the exhibition of the boys of the Academy.

In 1787 Colonel Fitzgerald was elected Mayor of Alexandria.

On February 13, 1788, Fitzgerald and others dined with Washington. On August 4th Washington lodged at Fitzgerald's and next day dined with him. On November 3d Fitzgerald and Dr. Craik dined with Washington. On January 4th, 1789, Fitzgerald dined with Washington. Numerous other entries of similar social courtesies between Washington and his favorite Aide-de-Camp might be cited to show the intimacy of Virginia's representative Irish-Catholic who had become foremost in the respect of the great Washington.

St. Patrick's Day, 1788, was also election day in Virginia for the choice of delegates to the State Convention, which should ratify or reject the Federal Constitution proposed at Philadelphia in 1787. Washington came from Mount Vernon to vote for candidates in its favor; and Colonel Fitzgerald entertained him at a dinner party, to which some of the principal inhabitants of the town were invited.

To a correspondent desirous of renting his property in Alexandria Washington wrote, July 19, 1793:

". . . And now, having no knowledge of the condition in which my House & Lot in Alexandria are—and being equally ignorant of the Rent of such houses in that Town—I have requested the favor of my acquaintance Col. Fitzgerald to negociate this business with you."

Probably it was about this property that Washington, on August 11, 1793, wrote Fitzgerald in reply to his of 3d, that "if there has been a written agreement between Anthony Whiting and the Alexandria tenant will abide by it; if not, cannot permit the tenant to remain; had been told by his deceased nephew, Major George Augustine Washington, of tenant's agreement to fence; leaves the matter entirely to Fitzgerald. He also expressed his pleasure at learning the flourishing condition of the Potomac Navigation Company; policy and interest point towards the Shenandoah." [*Washington MSS.*]

When the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania required the calling out by President Adams of the forces of the United States under General Washington, who had been appointed Lieutenant-General, he, on November 5, 1798, on his way to Phila-

delphia to take command, was met outside of Alexandria and escorted into the town by the troops under Colonel Fitzgerald and Captain Young who escorted him to the ferry to Georgetown. On July 4th the following year Independence Day was celebrated in Alexandria. Washington was present and after Colonel Fitzgerald had "put the military commands through the manual, Washington expressed his satisfaction with their military and elegant appearance."

On August 7, 1799, Colonel Fitzgerald, with others, dined with Washington for the last time.

This may have been the occasion related by Edmund J. Lee: "During the dinner Colonel Fitzgerald repeatedly attempted to give the conversation a political turn, with a view of expressing his detestation of Mr. Jefferson, Bache and Duane, Giles of Virginia, and other members of the anti-Federal party. But he received no encouragement from the General, who led the conversation to the subject of the wonderful prosperity of the country, and remarked toward the close of the dinner how gratifying it must be to all the survivors of the Revolutionary army to know that their efforts to establish American independence had been crowned with a success so signal. 'Ah!' exclaimed Fitzgerald, 'and to be assured that all this glorious prosperity, and the very existence of the Republic itself, are imperilled by the vile arts of an unprincipled demagogue.' At this juncture, General Washington, bowing to his guests, remarked, 'Now, gentlemen, we will take one more glass of wine, and then join the ladies!' and turning to Fitzgerald, said: 'I know very well to whom you allude, Colonel Fitzgerald; but I would willingly forgive him all his heresy if he had not seduced from his allegiance to the Constitution one of the best, purest, and ablest men of the country—James Madison, of Virginia." [Carne in *Catholic World,* Jan., 1890, p. 444.]

Colonel Fitzgerald was, in politics, a Federalist—the Party of Washington, it has been called. His suburban residence he named "Federal Spring." It was sold in 1818 in settlement of his encumbered estate. In 1798 President Adams appointed him Collector of the Port of Alexandria.

George Washington Parke Custis, in his *Recollections of Washington,* states that in November, 1799, Washington visited Alexandria on business and dined at the City Hotel with Colonel Fitzgerald, Dr. Craik and others; that the Independent Blues were

hastily summoned and parading before the General sent, by young Custis, an expression of his admiration and his thanks—the last military message of the illustrious General of the Revolution. The occasion was thus his last public appearance beyond Mount Vernon and Colonel Fitzgerald's last known association with the Father of the Country to whom he had been so devoted.

What kind of a Catholic was Colonel John Fitzgerald? We have seen that he married a Catholic. His daughter Elizabeth married Francis Lightfoot Lee, the fourth son of Richard Henry Lee, who wrote the Resolution declaring the Colonies free and independent, which the Continental Congress adopted July 2, 1776

On the death of Elizabeth—leaving no surviving children—Francis Lightfoot Lee married her sister Jane, on February 9, 1810. "Dispensation for this being granted by Archbishop Carroll." The issue of this marriage was five children. All christened Catholics:

Jane Elizabeth, born 1811, died 1837.

Samuel Phillips Lee, became Admiral of the U. S. Navy.

John Fitzgerald Lee, born 5th May, 1813, graduated at West Point, ranked as Major, died in St. Louis, 17th June, 1884, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in that city.

Arthur; died in Louisville, Ky., 7th August, 1841. An obituary said: "Attentive to the voice of conscience he chose to employ his talents and acquirements in the humble but holy office of a Sunday-school teacher."

Frances Anne, the fifth child, born 30th June, 1816. Died 5th December, 1889.

Mrs. Lee dying when the children were young, they were reared Episcopalians, but John Fitzgerald Lee marrying a Catholic all his children were Catholics. One, William Hill Lee, is a banker in St. Louis and John Fitzgerald Lee, of the same city, a lawyer.

Colonel Fitzgerald's home was the place of divine service for Catholics of Alexandria before the obtaining of a chapel. Rev. John Thayer, who had formerly been a Protestant minister at Boston, while on missionary duty in Virginia wrote to Bishop Carroll on January 24, 1794:

"At Alexandria we have no place of worship nor any prospect of having one. I have Mass at the Colonel's but I don't think it very agreeable to him tho he says nothing. He seems rather to regard the priest upon the whole as a burden. I feel myself a kind

of intruder the few days I am there and there is no other place." [*Archives,* Balto.]

Perhaps the Colonel respected the Priest but not the person of Father Thayer, who was somewhat erratic in temper and behavior.

This house was located on the site of Burke & Herbert's Bank. [Carne's *His. St. Mary's.*]

On April 10, 1795, Father Thayer wrote from Notley Hall, Maryland, to Bishop Carroll: "I wish you would quicken Colonel Fitzgerald with respect to the building of the chapel. It depends now wholly on him. An acre of ground being already given by Mr. Alexander for the purpose." [*Balto. Archives.*]

The church was built at Washington and Church Streets.

When in 1789 the Jesuits founded the college at Georgetown, Colonel Fitzgerald was one of those authorized to receive subscriptions.

Though the principal citizens, some "whose names are now on the tombs in the Catholic cemetery" of Alexandria were Freemasons of the Lodge of which Washington was a member, Colonel Fitzgerald never joined that Order, though the Papal decrees were not, in his lifetime, "generally received by the Church in this country," as Bishop Carroll wrote Mr. Michael McElheney, January 7, 1794. [*Arch. Balto.*]

At the Sesqui-Centennial of Alexandria in 1907, a commemorative jubilee was held. In the parade *The Sun* of Baltimore reported: "The finest spectacle in the line was the Ancient Order of Hibernians headed by a float showing General Washington and his Irish Aide, Colonel Fitzgerald, Mayor of Alexandria in 1787."

Colonel John Fitzgerald died in the spring of 1800, a few months after the death of General Washington. He is buried in the Catholic cemetery of Alexandria on the road to Mount Vernon, the home of his General and the resting place of his remains.

It is traditionally related that Colonel Fitzgerald was a cousin of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the Irish Patriot, who had served in the British army in the war against the Americans.

THE CLERGY OF FRANCE MAKE A GIFT TO THE KING OF SIX MILLION OF DOLLARS TO AID IN THE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND IN BEHALF OF THE REVOLTED AMERICAN COLONIES—1780.

AT THE TIME OF THE AMERICAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE THE CHURCH PROVIDED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WITH MANY MILLIONS, NOT AS A LOAN, BUT AS A GIFT.

[Professor Thomas Dwight, of Harvard University, Address in Faneuil Hall, Boston, January, 1907.]

On May 25, 1905, Rt. Rev. John S. Michaud, D.D., Bishop of Burlington, Vermont, called our attention to the subject—"a vital event in our history and when every assistance, no matter how small or great, should not be forgotten by us. Look it up and see if the goods were delivered or not. In either case the good intention was there on the part of the French clergy."

A priest in Paris had, twelve or fifteen years before, called the Bishop's attention to the matter, saying: "The French Clergy, in spite of their royalistic ideas, was the supporter of the War of Independence, without even a word of censure for the democratic principles expressed in said Declaration. The French clergy, therefore, has done its share for your independence."

Investigation was made. The record is herewith presented showing the deliberations and action of the Clergy of France in General Assembly met:

"The Minutes of the General Assembly of the French Clergy, held at Paris, in the Convent of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine (Grands Augustins), in the year 1780," published some two years later in a very portly volume that is now a great rarity, is a rather out-of-the-way place in which to find material relating to Catholics and of the American Revolution. A copy of the work is not in the Library of Congress, the Harvard College Library, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, the University of Pennsylvania or other American institutions where sought. Examination made in the National Library at Paris secured the transcript used in the preparation of the following account:

Without the aid given by France the cause of England's re-

volted colonies was a hopeless one, for that time at least; and without the timely aid given by the Church to the French monarchy, that government might not have been able to continue the war to a successful issue. This episode, not known to or ignored by historians, is well worth recording. It is related here in the very language of the official record.

By royal decree dated October 30, 1779, the regular quinquennial Assembly of the French Clergy was called to meet on Monday, May 29th, of the following year. The first meeting was held on the date assigned, at which a committee on credentials was appointed. The Assembly consisted of two delegates from each of the sixteen ecclesiastical provinces, one for the hierarchy and one for the lower clergy. At the second session, on the 31st, this committee reported the following delegates as duly qualified. All should be numbered among those who aided in gaining American Independence.

Province of Rouen—Cardinal Dominique de la Rochefoucauld, Primate of Normandy, etc., and Very Rev. Canon Pierre Charles Honoré Bridelle, his Vicar-General.

Toulouse—Archbishop Etienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne, and his Vicar-General, V. Rev. Seignelai Colbert de Castehil.

Reims—Most Rev. Alexandre Angélique de Tallyrand-Périgord, Archbishop-Duke, hereditary legate of the Holy See and Primate of Belgic Gaul, and his Vicar-General, V. Rev. Canon François Louis Casimir de Lageard.

Aix—Its Archbishop, Most Rev. Jean-de-Dieu Raimond de Boisgelin, and his Vicar-General, V. Rev. Melchior de Forbin; and in addition, as general agent of the clergy, V. Rev. Thomas Pierre Antoine de Boisgelin, of the Diocese of St. Brieux, and honorary V. G. of Aix.

Arles—Most Rev. Jean Marie Dulau, Primate and prince, and V. Rev. Henri Charles Dulau d'Allemans, of the Diocese of Perigueux, Hon. V. G. of Rouen.

Auch—Archbishop Claude Marc Antoine d'Apchon, lord of Auch and Primate of Novempopulania and Navarre, and V. Rev. Canon Marc Antoine Frédéric de Gautier de Montguers, V. G. of Couserans.

Sens—Rt. Rev. Jean Antoine Tinseau, Bishop of Nevers, and V. Rev. Canon Adrien de Robien, V. G. of Auxerre.

Lyons—Rt. Rev. Gabriel François Moreau, Bishop of Macon, and V. Rev. Louis Marie Pierre le Denays de Queynadeuc, V. G. of Chalon.

Narbonne—Rt. Rev. Charles François Simon Vermandois de Saint-Simon-Rouvroy-Sandricourt, Bishop and Count of Agde, and V. Rev. Gabriel Cortois de Pressigny, V. G. of Langres.

Albi—Rt. Rev. Jean Marc de Royère, Lord and Baron of Ferrières, Bishop of Castres, and V. Rev. Louis Marie Régis de Bérard de Montalet-Alais, V. G. of Cambrai.

Tours—Rt. Rev. Urbain René de Hercé, Bishop and Count of Dol, and V. Rev. François de Hercé, his V. G.; agent, V. Rev. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, V. G. of Reims.

Bordeaux—Rt. Rev. Jean Louis d'Usson de Bonnac, Bishop of Agen, and V. Rev. Armand Joseph de Rangouse de Beauregard, his V. G.

Embrun—Rt. Rev. Antoine René de Bardonenche, Bishop of Vence, and V. Rev. Joseph Anthoine de Bardonenche, of the Diocese of Grenoble.

Vienne—Rt. Rev. Fiacre François de Graves, Bishop and Count of Valence, and V. Rev. Canon Aimé François de Corbeau de Saint-Albin, V. G. of Vienne.

Bourges—Rt. Rev. François de Bonac, Bishop of Clermont and Count of Brioudes, and V. Rev. Joseph de Galard-Saldebru, V. G. of Lectoure.

Paris—Rt. Rev. Alexandre Amédée de Lauzieres-Thémines, Bishop of Blois, and V. Rev. Canon François Charles Chevreuil, Chancellor of the University and V. G. of Paris.

Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld was elected President, and as Vice-Presidents the Archbishops of Toulouse and Reims and the Bishops of Nevers, Macon and Agde. Two former agents, the Abbés de Jarente and de la Rochefoucauld, were chosen as Promoter and Secretary respectively. The various committees were not appointed until June 6th.

It was at the sixth session, two days later (Thursday, June 8, 1780), that the subject with which we are here concerned was broached. On that occasion a letter from the King was read, announcing that he had sent to the Assembly three commissioners to communicate a special request in connection with the enormous cost which the war with England in behalf of the revolted American colonies had entailed. After the reading of this letter the senior

royal commissioner, M. Feydeau de Marville, addressed the Assembly as follows:

"You are aware of the constant care which the King has taken since his accession to the throne to make his subjects happier and to perfect the administration of his kingdom, and you have approved of the measures his wisdom has adopted to carry out plans so important.

"We would have reaped in the most efficacious manner the fruits of his paternal solicitude, had not the increase of revenues which His Majesty has secured by his plans of order and economy been devoted to guaranteeing the interest made necessary by the conduct of the war; but we should none the less be filled with gratitude for the arrangements that have until now preserved the peoples from additional taxes.

"At the same time an expensive war is being carried on in all parts of the world, and the most formidable navy that France has ever had has come into being through solicitude equally glorious to the King, consoling to his subjects, and alarming to his enemies.

"But the need of fresh resources and the obligation of husbanding the various branches of credit has impressed upon you in advance, gentlemen, the service your zeal can render to His Majesty.

"You have been in the habit of giving testimony to this effect; and it is a striking mark of confidence, enhanced by that with which His Majesty has been inspired by the knowledge of the fidelity and zeal of your illustrious head, that the King invites you to share in the success of his arms, so as to hasten the return of peace, which will ever be the first object of his desires.

"His Majesty, having weighed what he had reason to expect from your devotedness to his interests and glory, and what in the present circumstances the needs of the State demands, feels convinced that nothing would better comply with his wishes than the request he has commanded us to make of you of a voluntary free gift of thirty millions [of livres—$6,000,000]; but at the same time His Majesty has authorized us to announce to you that it is his intention to come to your aid, by paying into your receiver's treasury a million a year for fourteen years, beginning with 1781.

"This pledge will be couched in the most solemn forms, and the King is disposed to adopt those which you may see fit to prefer.

"Such a sum, thus returned every year to your treasury, will, as it were in advance, considerably reduce the amount of the gratuity he has asked of you, without in his estimation diminishing the value of your efforts; and it is with pleasure, no doubt, that you will, on an occasion of such moment to the State, turn to account the credit which the wisdom of your administration and His Majesty's constant protection have so justly merited for you.

"The promptness and ease with which your loan will be effected, by sustaining and animating the general credit, will give His Majesty's enemies a fresh proof of the abundance of his means and the extent of his resources, especially if, by your eagerness to defer to His Majesty's request, you uphold in the mind of the nation that confidence in his justice and wisdom which, while war is raging, constitutes his strength and consolation."

To this appeal the Cardinal President made answer:

"At all times the Clergy have regarded and will ever regard as one of their most sacred duties that of proving their zeal for the service of the King and the interests of the Fatherland. A mere glance cast at the accumulated debts and the enormous obligations they have contracted justifies their great efforts for the needs of the State, they will glory in not letting these sentiments be changed by any circumstance; but, however well disposed they may be to give the most striking proofs of this at the present time, they see with regret, gentlemen, that they cannot disguise from you the surprise and astonishment aroused in them by the request you have just made. Their annals present no similar example, even in the most critical times. Animated, however, with the desire to give to the King a mark of our respect and devotedness, and disposed to make the greatest sacrifices to please him and to comply with his beneficent views, we will examine as to what are the burthens which the clergy can undertake, what relation they bear to our duties and abilities, and we will lose no time in informing you of the result of our deliberation."

The royal commissioners having then withdrawn, the Abbé de Jarente thus addressed the Assembly:

"My ministry would seem easy to you if there was not question of inviting you to be lavish of your own property; but you are the careful guardians of that of the Church.

"Excessive and multiplied gifts, a debt already enormous, revenues impaired by lack of circulation, and the needs of the

pastors, whose claims will be submitted to you, seem to impose a just moderation on your liberalities.

"Now when the people hear war spoken of only to bless the wisdom that has relieved the taxes with a beneficent economy, the clergy alone feel demands that would astonish even those most clever in exaggerating their resources.

"My zeal for the Fatherland forbids me language that your position would perhaps make necessary.

"But, full of confidence in your noble efforts to find means which I am very far from seeing, I like to nurse a generous illusion on seeing France battling for the common cause, and, by a glorious distinction, the clergy alone called to the honor of contributing to the freedom of commerce and security on the high seas.

"I ask, my lords and gentlemen, that you deliberate by provinces on the request that the royal commissioners have just made in His Majesty's name."

The President then asked the members of the Assembly to consider the source of the request while discussing the subject. Consequently, as well on the matter as on the form profound and ripe reflections were made, as well as very judicious observations on an object so important, one which by its very nature merited closest attention. After these examinations and discussions the provinces were called; and it was unanimously agreed to tell the King's commissioners that the Assembly, filled with the constant zeal that ever animated the Clergy for the King's service, were disposed, on an occasion on which they felt that the greatest efforts might be necessary, to give His Majesty the most striking proofs of this; but the enormous amount of the sum he had asked of them, and the nature of the pledges he deigned to propose to them, requiring of them an examination in keeping with the confidence of the provinces, and justifying to their own minds the excess of their zeal by the knowledge of their means, they hoped that the King would understand why at that time they reached no definite conclusion; but yet, so as not to injure His Majesty's service, they authorized their receiver-general to accept the amounts that would be offered to him. Word was then sent to the royal commissioners of what had been done, and the session closed.

The subject was brought up again only at the ninth session, on Monday, June 12th, when the Archbishop of Toulouse made a luminous report from the committee to which it had been referred

and which unanimously recommended the grant. After some discussion of the report, the roll was called by provinces, and all voted in the affirmative. The recorder of the minutes then states:

"In consequence the Assembly, persuaded as much by the vastness of the sum asked of it as by the dispositions which the government has deigned to make known to it, that it is His Majesty's intention not to call upon the clergy for any extraordinary aid during the course of the present war; reassured as to such requests by the principles, even of administration, pursued by His Majesty, principles which would not permit him, for the sake of a slight advantage, to risk the reputation of his resources, and to sacrifice a valuable credit that can be upheld only as long as it is well handled; considering that the present circumstance may make useful an extraordinary effort that impresses His Majesty's enemies by making known to them the immense resources which he can find in the love of his subjects and the confidence of the various orders of his State; touched especially by the wisdom and goodness of His Majesty, who has hitherto succeeded in meeting the cost of an expensive war without imposing new taxes; and full of the hope so consoling to the shepherds of the peoples, that if their gifts cannot wholly obviate these imposts, they can at least lighten their burthen or defer the time when they must be made; so confiding in His Majesty's justice that he will not, without applying a remedy, learn of the many impairments and encroachments of every sort experienced and further threatened by the property of the clergy, which cannot be lessened or encumbered without diminishing the source of their gifts and weakening the security of their pledges; the Assembly, actuated by these considerations, having, after a reasonable delay, justified to itself and to the provinces whose interests have been confided to it a deliberation which cannot serve as an example, as it has not itself furnished one, has thought it could shut its eyes as well to the condition of the affairs of the clergy exhausted by their gifts as to the excess of the request that has been made of it; and happily, on so interesting an occasion, to give to the King a striking proof of its devotedness and fidelity, it has unanimously agreed to grant to him a sum of thirty millions [of livres, $6,000,000] as a gratuity, subject to the clauses and conditions of the contract which will be concluded between His Majesty and the Clergy and also to accept the offer that has been made to it through the royal commissioners

of one million a year for fourteen years, and in regard to the forms that may be followed in the turning over of this million, the terms of which His Majesty has deigned to leave to the choice of the Assembly, it has referred the details to the commissioners of the old bonds, as well as those of the use to be made of this million and of the means by which the Assembly may meet the payment of the gratuity.

"It was at the same time decided to lay before the King a list of the grievances on which the Assembly was to present memorials to His Majesty."

The presiding Cardinal said: "That it was to the point to inform the King of the deliberation which the Assembly had just reached, and that, if agreeable to it, he would have the honor of writing to His Majesty, and would entrust the Abbé de Périgord with his letter; which was agreed to."

The grant was really larger than at first sight appears; for the Church had to raise the money by the sale of bonds on the security of its realty. These bonds for the first year bore five per cent. interest, and four per cent. afterwards; while the million a year paid back out of the income of the royal farms from October 1, 1781, was only three and a third per cent. And even this was cut off by the Revolution of 1789.

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THE CATHOLIC SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION SIGNED TO GAIN RELIGIOUS AS WELL AS CIVIL LIBERTY.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, on February 20, 1829, wrote from Baltimore to George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington, who was President of the "Society of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in Ireland," saying:

"When I signed the Declaration of Independence I had in view not only our independence from England but the toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion and communicating to them all great rights. Happily this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradicating religious feuds and persecution and become a useful lesson to all governments.

"Reflecting, as you must, on the disabilities, I may truly say, of the proscription of the Roman Catholics in Maryland, you will not be surprised that I had much at heart, this grand design founded on mutual charity, the basis of our holy religion." [*National Gazette,* Philadelphia, February 26, 1829.]

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE SECURED RELIGIOUS LIBERTY FOR THE CATHOLICS OF MARYLAND.

Concerning the levying a tax of £20 per month upon all who did not attend public worship on Sundays in the Episcopal churches of Maryland, Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J., in "A Dark Chapter in the Catholic History of Maryland," says: "The feeling which the levying of such a tax engendered had no inconsiderable share in strengthening the resolve to cast off the yoke of England; for the tyranny of the State was coupled in the Revolutionary patriot's mind with the oppressive weight of the Church identified with the State and whose clergy sided against the cause of Liberty to such an extent that the triumph of American Independence was the death-knell of the Anglican establishment."

BOUCHER'S "VIEW."

Rev. Jonathan Boucher, of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George County, Maryland, Episcopal minister, an ardent Loyalist, fled to England where he issued "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution," in which he said:

"The persons in America who were most opposed to Great Britain had also in general distinguished themselves by being particularly hostile to the Catholics but then though Dissenters and Republicans were their enemies those friendly to Government could hardly be said to be their friends." He continues:

"All that the Catholics of Maryland seem to have gained by their compliance is that they were not driven into exile nor their property confiscated. I have not heard that they had in general been trusted, like others, by their new allies much less that they have been distinguished by any favors. Their leader (C. C.) has been a member of Congress and was once employed on an embassy; a relation of his a Cousin is now the Popish Bishop in the State. This Bishop is spoken of as a man of wealth, ability and some things which I have seen of his writing proves that he is a respectable man. Under the prevailing latitudinarian principles of the Government of Maryland they, like other religions are no longer molested on account of their religion nor are they stigmatized, by any legal disqualification—their emancipation (the term which they were soon taught to apply to their being taken out of the prospect of Government Great Britain) has been rather nominal than real."

Mr. Boucher was, of course, on the royalists side, dependent for his "living" upon the continuation of the royal government, which meant a continuation of the Episcopal establishment. An effort was therefore made to have the Catholics take sides with the established government. To this end the Anglican laity must by all means be taught at this juncture to assume towards the Catholics a friendly attitude. But in order to win over the Episcopalians, who had for so long been taught by their ministers that Catholics were monsters, they must first be taught to lay aside their long cherished prejudices.

"Unwilling," says the same minister, "to repeat grievances, I endeavour to forget the long series of oppressions and wrongs which these unfortunate people have suffered among us. Hardly a book or an article of religion has been written, hardly a sermon on any controverted point has been preached, hardly any public debate or private conversation have been held on the subject of religion or politics in which (in the strong phrase of a noted Divine of the last century) the parties have not contrived 'a thwack at Popery.' We have exhibited them as some of their own Communion are wont to exhibit those they call heretics in an *auto-de-fe,* in a horrid dress disfigured with monsters and devils, or as one Emperor of Rome, distinguished for his cruelty, is said to have exhibited the primitive Christians, when he wrapped them in the skins of beasts and threw them into the arena to be devoured by lions.

"The ill-treatment," he says again, "which they everywhere received from us is everywhere disgraceful, but it more particularly ill becomes the people of this Province which was settled by Catholics. It was granted to a Papist avowedly that Papists might here enjoy their religion unmolested. Differing from colonists in general, the first settlers of Maryland were, with very few exceptions, persons of family and fortune and this, too, is the character of their descendants who still possess some of the best of the lands and best fortunes in the Province. Restrained from many of the means of showing their regard for their country, they are yet, as far as it is in their power, as desirous and as ready to promote its welfare as any other of its inhabitants. I am sure they have reason to be so for their all is at stake in it and I know of nothing in their religion that necessarily makes them hostile either to their own interests or those of the public. If they have not

hitherto been or are not now so active as some other descriptions of men are, in what are called patriotic exertions, they have not only the common apology of other quiet or orderly persons, that they conceive themselves in this case to be at liberty to follow their own private judgments and that they are restrained by laws to which they submit from a sense of duty. In the hard measure thus dealt out to this people we first make the offence and then punish it. To justify our rigour towards them we pretend that by their education, modes and habits of thinking, they are disqualified from exercising certain offices of citizenship from which, therefore, we exclude them.

"The descendants of those great men in the old times before us—the Papists of our times are no longer in any capacity of emulating the greatness of their ancestors; but their fortitude under trials of peculiar poignancy is almost as unexampled as their oppressions; and their acquiescence under a long series of accumulated wrongs is such an instance of true patriotism as entitles them to the highest respect. With a patience, firmness of character, worthy of all praise and all imitations, they have long submitted to such injuries and indignities as their high-spirited forefathers would have ill-brooked; and such as their undegenerated posterity would not endure, were it not that they have the wisdom and the virtue to respect the laws more than their own personal feelings. Everything most dear to the human heart has been torn from them, excepting their attachment to their religion and their determination to love and bless those fellow-subjects, who, unmindful of the duties resulting from their religion and unmoved by so endearing an example, foolishly and wickedly continue to regard Papists as Samaritans, with whom they resolve to have no dealings."

[Fr. Russell's *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary,* p. 289.]

CANADIANS WELCOME ARNOLD'S ARMY.

It is not improbable that but for the impolitic document addressed by Congress to the People of Great Britain, in September, 1774, inveighing in unmeasured terms against the French jurisprudence and Roman Catholicism, Canada might also have cast her vote for Independence. . . .

The habitants, or French farmers, who made up the bulk of the population, were certainly not enthusiastic in their loyalty to the English sovereignty under which they had not yet lived a score of years, and although they could hardly be relied on for active aid, might, at least, given passive countenance to the plans of the revolutionary leaders if their religion had been treated with respect and their priesthood with tact and wisdom.

This phase of the situation was, unfortunately, not correctly understood at Philadelphia until it was too late. The step already referred to, which alienated many of the Roman Catholic clergy and their flocks from the revolutionary cause, was taken before its probable effects upon this preponderating element of the Canadian population was appreciated. [*Arnold's Expedition to Canada,* by John Codman, N. Y., 1901, p. 9.]

See p. 125 for other Catholic references. Nov. 5: Express reached Arnold that Mr. Robbisho, express sent to Montgomery from Sartigan, was taken prisoner. This threw the people into a panic, as they heard the English were determined to burn and destroy all the inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec, unless they came and took up arms in defense of the garrison. The poor, innocent French-Canadian habitants in the lower Chaudière valley scarcely knew which way to turn; from the St. Lawrence came such reports of the rigorous treatment they might expect from the English, while from the upper Chaudière spread the first rumors of the arrival and of the character of the mysterious American army [*vetu en tole* (*toile*)] "clothed in mail," an allusion to the frocks of the riflemen. This rumor lost no credit by what seemed, even to the hardy French voyageurs, a feat only to be accomplished by men of a race endowed with superhuman powers of strength and endurance—the passage of an army through the solitary and unbroken wilderness of the Chaudière streams and Dead River. "Surely," said they, "God is with this people, or they could never have done what they have done."

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